

# UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA



REPORT OF THE JOINT FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE  
TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE  
SACRAMENTO, 1943

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SACRAMENTO, 1943    GEORGE H. MOORE, STATE PRINTER



SENATE  
CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE  
FIFTY-FIFTH SESSION  
1943

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# REPORT

## JOINT FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA

TO

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE



### MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE

#### SENATORS

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HUGH M. BURNS

#### ASSEMBLYMEN

NELSON S. DILWORTH  
JESSE RANDOLPH KELLEMS, PH.D.  
JAMES H. PHILLIPS

□

HON. FREDERICK F. HOUSER  
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR  
PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

SENATOR JERROLD L. SEAWELL  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE  
OF THE SENATE

HON. CHARLES W. LYON  
SPEAKER OF THE ASSEMBLY

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# **REPORT OF THE JOINT FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and members of the Legislature:

Your committee investigating un-American activities in California herewith submits its report on the investigations and public hearings held throughout the State.

## **AUTHORIZATION**

The committee was created by Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13, filed with the Secretary of State January 27, 1941. This resolution created a Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California. The committee was instructed by Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13 to "investigate, ascertain, collate and appraise all facts causing or constituting interference with the National Defense Program in California or rendering the people of the State, as a part of the Nation, less fit physically, mentally, morally, economically or socially;" and to "investigate the activity of groups and organizations whose membership include persons who are members of the Communist Party, the Fascist Organizations, the German Nazi Bund, or any other organization known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power, which activities affect the preparation of this State for National defense, the functioning of any State agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions of this State supported in whole or in part by State funds, or any political program." Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13 provides that the committee should "act during this Session of the Legislature (1941), including any recess hereof, and after final adjournment hereof, until the commencement of the Fifty-fifth Legislature," and "to file a report with the Legislature during any Session of the Fifty-fourth Legislature and with the Legislature during the regular Session of the Fifty-fifth Legislature." Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13 appropriated the sum of \$10,000 from the Contingent Fund of the Senate and the Assembly for the expenses of the committee.

Pursuant to the provisions of the resolution the Committee on Rules of the Senate appointed Senators T. H. DeLap, Chris N. Jespersen and Clarence C. Ward. The Speaker of the Assembly appointed Assemblymen Hugh M. Burns, Jesse Randolph Kellems, James H. Phillips and Jack B. Tenney. In compliance with the provisions of Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13 the committee, as appointed by the Rules Committee of the Senate and the Speaker of the Assembly, selected Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney as its chairman.

Before the final adjournment of the Legislature in 1941, the Rules Committee of the Senate declined to make a further appropriation for the use of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee created under the provisions of Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13. On June 13, 1941,

Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney, the Chairman of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee created under Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13, offered House Resolution No. 277 to the Assembly. House Resolution No. 277 was adopted by the Assembly. This resolution contained nearly the same provisions as Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13, except that it created an Assembly Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California of five members of the Assembly to be appointed by the Speaker and appropriated the sum of \$15,000 from the Contingent Fund of the Assembly for the expenses of the committee. The Speaker of the Assembly thereafter appointed Assemblymen Hugh M. Burns, Nelson S. Dilworth, Jesse Randolph Kellems, James H. Phillips and Jack B. Tenney to serve on the Assembly committee. Subsequently, the members appointed by the Speaker selected Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney as its chairman. Later in the year Senators T. H. DeLap, Chris N. Jespersen, and Clarence C. Ward resigned from the Joint Fact-Finding Committee created by Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13. Although the committee sat during the greater part of its existence as an Assembly interim committee, it nevertheless retained a majority of the members of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee.

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 8 was introduced by Senators Jack B. Tenney of Los Angeles County and Hugh M. Burns of Fresno County on January 8, 1943. It was unanimously approved by the Senate and was adopted by the Assembly with but five dissenting votes. Pursuant to its provisions the Rules Committee of the Senate appointed Senators Hugh M. Burns and Jack B. Tenney and the Speaker of the Assembly appointed Assemblymen Nelson S. Dilworth and Dr. Jesse Randolph Kellems. The committee in its first meeting elected Senator Jack B. Tenney its chairman.

The committee, therefore, acted at all times under joint authority of the Senate and the Assembly of the California Legislature. For this reason your committee makes its report to both houses of the California Legislature.

#### **ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE**

Between July 28, 1941, and March 1, 1943, the committee conducted 30 days of public hearings in the State of California. The dates and places of these hearings are as follows:

- Los Angeles, July 28, 29, 30, 31, and August 1, 1941.
- Los Angeles, October 14, 15, 16, and 17, 1941.
- San Francisco, December 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, 1941.
- San Quentin, December 6, 1941.
- San Diego, February 19, 20, and 21, 1942.
- Los Angeles, February 23, and 24, 1942.
- Los Angeles, March 24, 1942.
- Fresno, May 22, 23, 1942.
- San Francisco, May 25, 26, and 27, 1942.
- Los Angeles, December 16, and 19, 1942.
- Los Angeles, February 27, and March 1, 1943.

In addition to the above specified public hearings, the committee met in executive session on a number of occasions. During the two years

existence of the committee it has taken 16 volumes of testimony-transcript numbering 3,980 pages. Hundreds of exhibits have been introduced in connection with the testimony of witnesses and are attached to the original transcripts of testimony. In addition to these records, the committee has gathered hundreds of pamphlets and circulars. Attaches of the committee have subscribed to subversive publications and have systematically checked them during the life of the committee. In addition, the committee has filed and indexed nearly 14,000 cards listing the activities of as many individuals in California.—This part of the committee's work is incomplete due to the lack of funds for the employment of necessary attachés.

The committee has attempted to probe the activities of the groups enumerated in the resolutions creating the committee, such as the Communist Party, the Nazi-German Bund, the Fascist organizations and kindred groups.

The members of your committee unanimously selected Mr. R. E. Combs of Visalia as Chief Investigator. Investigators were hired from time to time in northern California and in southern California and in all cases these investigators did an outstanding patriotic work. Thomas L. Cavett did a great deal of work for the committee in the southern part of the State and Harry T. Machell did splendid work for the committee in the San Francisco area. The committee had a number of volunteer investigators who did extensive work without compensation and at their own expense. Among these your committee wishes especially to mention Mr. W. Bruce Pine of Los Angeles. Mr. Pine was attacked in San Francisco in a trap that had been laid for the committee's chief investigator, R. E. Combs, and had to be hospitalized. The American Legion and its committees assisted in every instance. Ben S. Beery, Chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Seventeenth District, American Legion, rendered your committee valuable services. The Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Anti-Defamation League and other similar groups assisted the committee in every possible manner. Many other patriotic and civic organizations who do not desire publicity, likewise rendered invaluable service.

Dr. John R. Lechner, executive director of the *Americanism Educational League* did especially fine work in the Japanese field, collecting many documents and statistics concerning *Issei* and *Nisei* Japanese. His report, *Playing With Dynamite*, prepared by him in his capacity as chairman of the *Americanism Commission* of the 23d District of the *American Legion*, is well worth study in connection with the Japanese problem.

Particular mention must be made of the work of Mrs. Linnie Terry, committee secretary, who labored night and day preparing the material and typing the entire manuscript of this report.

To all of these patriotic individuals and groups, and the many others who are not named, but whose fine assistance is acknowledged, the members of the committee extend their sincere thanks.

From the very inception of its work the members of the committee were cognizant of the fact that all subversive activities are tinged with sensationalism and that facts developed by investigations and public hearings necessarily lend themselves to publicity. The committee and

its members, therefore, endeavored in every way to conduct the hearings with dignity and restraint, sometimes under most trying circumstances.

Before hearings on any phase of the committee's work were planned, an intensive study was made of the ideological background of the particular movement under investigation. Its literature was secured and read. Hearing briefs, covering all of the points concerning the organization, its leaders, members and activities, and the questions to be asked the witnesses and the exhibits to be introduced in connection with witnesses' testimony, were carefully prepared. The order and appearance of witnesses were carefully planned so that the committee's transcript would show a clear, systematic and chronological sequence. To preserve clarity and continuity throughout, the examination of witnesses was conducted by the committee's chief investigator, Mr. R. E. Combs. At the conclusion of the prepared questions from the hearing brief, the members of the committee asked such questions as occurred to them during the chief examination of the witness.

The committee, at all times, cooperated closely with the intelligence units of the armed forces and with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Representatives of the committee have worked for weeks at a time with the agents of Federal departments. It was found the elastic powers of your committee were exceedingly helpful to other law enforcing agencies. The committee, empowered to subpoena witnesses and to examine them under oath, not being bound by the rules of evidence and armed with the power to punish for contempt through the initiation of proper criminal proceedings, and for perjury in the event that crime might be established, cuts through the technical restriction of other investigative units which are primarily law-enforcing in character rather than fact-finding.

The newspapers of the State of California played an important part in the work of the committee. Nearly every newspaper in the State carried concise and clear reports of the public hearings and contributed greatly in exposing the machinations and activities of subversive groups within our borders. Your committee wishes to state emphatically that subversive organizations wither and die under the penetrating search-light of publicity. The newspapers of California have contributed no small part in patriotically checking these termites in their efforts to undermine and sabotage our government.

#### AMERICANISM

The committee approached each separate subversive problem on the premise that any group that attacks the Flag, institutions, traditions, Democracy and Constitution of California and the United States is un-American *per se*. The members of the committee, at all times, kept in mind the Bill of Rights and its guarantees to the people of the United States. The committee has, at all times, carefully distinguished between criticism of our form of government and design for its destruction. We have been aware, at all times, of the right of every citizen to criticize, to discuss, and to propose changes in either our laws or our economics. We have never lost sight of the right of the individual, or of a group of individuals, to propose changes in our laws and in our government by constitutional methods. We have, therefore, concerned ourselves with those individuals and groups who are determined to

sabotage and forcibly destroy the government under which we live and to which we owe our allegiance. The committee is happy to report that such individuals and groups are in the minority but wishes emphatically to state that *because* of this minority status, these groups have evolved techniques and tactics that more than offset the smallness in numbers of their adherents. They present a real and tangible threat to our institutions, our Democracy, our State and our Nation.

#### ISMS VERSUS DEMOCRACY

The members of the committee have been asked from time to time to define un-American and subversive groups. We believe that any organization, individual or group in California or in the United States, controlled, directed or subsidized by a foreign government or agency, either by direct instructions or sympathy with or adherence to foreign *isms* inimical to the Constitution and Democracy of the United States, and which have as their ultimate objective the changing of the policies of, or the government of, the United States in accordance with the wishes or directions or ultimate objectives of such foreign government, are un-American and subversive.

Considerable study of Communism, Fascism, and Naziism has been made by the committee and its representatives in contrast to American Democracy. We find, generally, that all of these *isms* are inimical to the most fundamental principles of Democracy under the Constitution of the United States. Communism, Naziism and Fascism differ one from the other only in minor technicalities. The committee finds that:

1. Communism, Naziism and Fasceism are totalitarian dictatorships.
2. Communism, Naziism and Fasceism abolish all respect for personal dignity and individual rights.
3. The individual under Communism, Naziism or Fascism is deprived of any legal protection whatever against acts of force or brutality by representatives of his respective government.
4. All three forms of government have in common a complete and thorough contempt for liberalism, parliamentarism, humanitarianism, majority opinion or democratic procedure. All three *isms* are founded on intolerance and are committed to attaining their ends by the application of ruthless force and brutality.
5. Under Communism, Naziism or Fascism the imposition of *group interest* over individual right differs only in respect to the group favored. Under Communism, it is the proletariat and under Nazism and Fascism, the lower middle classes of the people.
6. Communism, Naziism and Fascism are *single party* systems. Party members under all three systems are exalted over the remainder of the people and constitute a *class* under which new caste distinctions emerge. The *National Socialist Party* of Germany under Hitler at the outbreak of the war numbered about 3,000,000 people out of the total population of Germany, and the Communist Party of Russia had about the same numerical strength. Only party members in Germany or in Russia have anything to say whatsoever about the conduct of their respective governments.

7. Class warfare is the approved, accepted, desirable and legitimate means used by Communism, Naziism and Fascism for the attainment of their respective objectives.

8. Communism, Naziism and Fascism have a common history of terror and intimidation. The Blood Purges of 1934 in Germany are illustrative of the Nazi technique in overcoming opposition and have their counterpart in Soviet Russia in the physical mass liquidation of entire populations in the Ukraine and in the Communist trials and mass murders of 1937.

9. The Communist, Nazi and Fascist dictatorship share the doctrine of expansion by force beyond their own boundaries; not only conquest by the sword, but conquest by propaganda, and political penetration as well. The Fascist invasion of Ethiopia, the Nazi attacks upon Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway and Western Europe in general, and Soviet Russia's attack on Finland, Poland and Rumania before Hitler's invasion of Russia, are typical illustrations of conquest by the sword. Nazi propaganda and front organizations under direct supervision of Berlin, Communist propaganda, front organizations and activities throughout the United States under the direct supervision of Moscow and Fascist propaganda and organizations under the direction of Rome, are illustrations of the political penetrations of these three totalitarian states.

Constitutional democracies are best described today as being "in the middle." The end of the war, with its necessary dislocations and readjustments, will make this fact even more apparent. On the one side is Communism and on the other, Fascism. Regardless of the outcome of the war neither ideology will be destroyed. While there is little difference between them, each flourishes and grows strong in its antagonism against the other. Naziism, and its *German-American Bund* mouthpiece in America, recruits members and sympathizers on the basis of its *race hatred* and *anti-Communism*. Russia, through its mouthpiece, the Communist Party of the United States, recruits members on the basis of *class hatred* and *anti-Fascism*. Constitutional democracies are caught in this vicious "squeeze-play." We have yet to see an *anti-Nazi Communist League*.

The successful adjustment of our economic life in the United States to industrial and agricultural mass production; the successful adjustment of the increasing use of machines to the decreasing use of labor within the framework of our Constitution and its Bill of Rights is the real problem facing American Democracy today. Many of our people, including public officials, appear to have lost sight of this real problem in the midst of the hullabaloo raised by the conflict between Fascism and Communism. American Democracy has been sitting idly by, quizzically watching the life and death struggle of two beasts of prey, little realizing that Democracy is the prize to be devoured by the victor of the contest. America must be made to realize that it is not just Fascism versus Communism, but, actually, Constitutional Democracy versus Totalitarianism.

#### SUBVERSIVE GROUPS ATTACK WEAKNESSES

The United States was attacked at Pearl Harbor! This attack was a practical demonstration of what can happen to a Nation

*unaware* of enemies possessed with ideological passion for world domination. The United States has no territorial ambitions. The United States has no desire to govern the people of other lands. In fighting this war we do so because we are attacked. All that the United States hopes for in victory is that the world will rid itself of the madmen; of superiority ideologies and of the crusading *isms* continually challenging the right of other Nations to live at peace at home and with its neighbors.

This global conflict is a *two front* war. It is a war of ships and tanks, of bombers and guns. It is also a war of *ideas*. In the final analysis the conflict is not simply to determine the victorious nation or nations, but to determine what *ideas* will rule the world. The United States battle fronts are scattered throughout the world. We can trace the ebb and flow of desperate battle on the world's map. It is difficult, however, to trace the *isms*, the sneaking and disguised enemies of our democracy as they ebb and flow, pulsating within our own ranks at home. Our military leaders, our engineers and our scientists have developed military equipment; we have heard of "defense in depth"; of offensive strategy; of adequate arms, but we have developed little, if anything, for the battle of *ideas*. It should be remembered that we can *win* the war and *lose* our democracy through short sightedness. If we are to win the war and retain our democracy, then we must know not only the enemy we fight with guns but the enemy we fight with ideas; we must know his strategy and the weapons he uses against us. The fanatical fighting zeal of the subversive enemies within our midst must not only be met with equal zeal but must be surpassed in faith for our democracy and our form of government.

What kind of people are we fighting on the home front? Your committee is prepared to state that they are trained, iron-disciplined and inspired with a zeal and purpose to wipe out our way of life. Are we, as Americans, trained and disciplined and inspired with zeal to continue our way of life? Are we prepared for this war at home?

We are fighting a *total* war. We should demand nothing less than *total* victory. It is the responsibility of the Legislature to enact suitable laws for the protection of the community, the State and Nation from these subversive organizations, but laws are not enough. We need a *fighting faith* for our Democracy, our Constitution and our way of life.

## PART I

### COMMUNISM

#### 1

#### THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AS AN ALLY OF THE UNITED STATES

The members of your committee are fully appreciative of the magnificent stand being made against Hitler and his hordes of barbarians by the Red Army. We are likewise cognizant of the fact that since December, 1941, our country, the United States, has been an ally of Soviet Russia. The members of the committee, since the invasion of Soviet Russia by Germany in June of 1941, have been in full accord with every possible assistance to the Soviet Union in its fight against the common enemy, Nazi-Germany. We stand unequivocally behind the foreign policy of our government in giving every possible aid, at this time, to Soviet Russia and her valiant Red Army. We have no quarrel, whatsoever, with the foreign policy of the United States in relation to the winning of the war and the uncompromising defeat of the Axis powers. We stand, as we believe every patriotic American stands, wholeheartedly for every possible aid to Great Britain, China, Soviet Russia and the United Nations in winning this war and in the complete and thorough crushing of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito.

The committee, however, wishes to distinguish between the activities of the Soviet Union as a government allied to the United States in this present conflict, and the activities of its tool and agent,—the Communist Party of the United States. We look upon these two activities as distinct and separate; on the one hand referring to the foreign policy of our own country, and on the other, referring specifically to our internal domestic picture, and bearing, perhaps, vitally, on the future and the preservation of our form of government when the war is ended.

The situation is crystal clear if our thinking is straight and lucid. Prior to December 7, 1941 the United States was seething with alien propaganda, foreign-agents and avowed enemies of our way of life. For 22 months, culminating June 22, 1941, two fifth columns, merging their activities and propaganda, had collaborated in sabotaging our defense efforts and our preparations for the eventuality of war. The Nazi Fifth Column and the Communist Fifth Column, because of the mutual interests of their respective foreign governments, buried whatever antagonism that had existed between them and worked against their common enemies, the United States, Great Britain and the nations at war with Germany. Suddenly, on June 22, 1941, the masters of these fifth columns in America went to war against each other. The United States was still at peace. On June 23, 1941, the Communist Fifth Column stopped its collaboration with the Nazi Fifth Column, altered its propagandizing in the United States, and became a leading force in its demand for intervention. Many Americans, including members

of your committee, favored intervention against Nazi-Germany at the outbreak of the war.

Since the invasion of Soviet Russia by Nazi-Germany, the Communist Party in California has been helpful in ferreting out Nazi and pro-Axis agents and sympathizers, as the transcripts of the committee amply indicate. Every loyal American, and every decent human being, loathes and abhors the bestiality and degrading philosophy that activates Nazi-Germany. Every loyal American is resolved and determined, at whatever personal sacrifice necessary, that the Nazi-monster and its Axis partners be vigorously and thoroughly stamped out. No loyal American will compromise this resolve and determination and will be satisfied with nothing less than the unconditional surrender and defeat of these world aggressors. In this resolve and determination of ours, the Communist Party of the United States has found, *for the first time in its existence*, a moving force in America, corresponding in every detail with the *foreign policy, ambition and need* of the Comintern. The Communist Party will take every possible advantage of this situation. Heretofore the Communists have been able to fit their *party line* into small segments of American life, detached from the broad current of Yankee thought and desire. Now, they find that the sweeping force of a great war in which the United States is engaged, is one which they can harness for their future, sinister purposes.

Earl Browder's latest book of Communist propaganda is *Victory—And After* (International Publishers Co., Inc., 1942). This work, as is to be expected, illucidates the present *party line* of the Comintern. In addition to being an all-out attack on Martin Dies and his committee, the general theme is "Unity," which may be considered the Communist key-term for the current era of Communist strategy in the United States. The psychological tactic of tying in the enemies of Communism with the enemies, fancied or otherwise, of segments of American life, is here used in a vicious and clever manner by tying the enemies of Communism in with the enemies of the United States. Thus, although the Dies Committee has exposed Axis-agents and Nazi-front organizations as fearlessly as they have exposed Communism and its front organizations; because it has fought Communism together with the now admitted enemy of the United States, *Naziism*, Mr. Browder labels Dies and his committee the *real* fifth column in America and agents of Hitler. Mr. Browder believes the war offers an opportunity for the Communist Party to rid itself of the Dies Committee and of all similar Committees by the fallacious reasoning that in view of the fact that the United States is an ally of Soviet Russia, it naturally follows that those who oppose Communism necessarily espouse Naziism. Mr. Browder's plea for "Unity" is a plea for freedom of action, plotting and intrigue in the United States for the Communist Party. *Victory—And After* is clearly Communist propaganda modified to meet the present strategy of the party.

In *Victory—And After* we have, as of course is to be expected, a different Earl Browder than the person who appeared before the members of the Fifteenth International Brigade in the vicinity of Moro Station in Spain following the brigade's relief from action at Teruel. (Affidavit of John G. Honeycombe.) At that time, Mr. Browder is

reported as having said in his address to the members of the brigade that "Victory for the working class of Spain will be the signal for the revolt of the working classes throughout the world to overthrow their oppressors and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; \* \* \* we of America must set the example of revolutionary discipline and courage for the workers of Spain as well as for our own working class at home in America," and that the day would surely come when the Communists would be the cadres of the revolution, leading the vanguard of the working class in their struggle to overthrow the capitalists and the capitalist systems and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; that the comrades in Spain must emulate the heroic leaders of the revolution, Lenin and Stalin.

The Communist Fifth Column is still in America. The committee warns that this fact must not be forgotten. We all admire the courage and heroism of the Russian people fighting against the barbarous, brutalized Nazi invader. We do not believe, however, that this stand and this courage of the Russian people proves the greatness of their form of government any more than we believe that the aggressiveness and brutality of the Nazi hordes prove the greatness of the Nazi dictatorship. We have no quarrel with the Soviet Government. We *DO* have a quarrel with Nazi-Germany and her Axis partners. We are determined, in collaboration with the United Nations, to prosecute that quarrel to glorious victory for the United Nations. We want peace at the conclusion of this victorious war with all the nations of the world. Our comradeship-in-arms with Soviet Russia in this life-and-death struggle will, and properly should, bring the people of the United States and the people of Russia, together in strong bonds of friendship. We desire that our governments, because of our mutual sacrifices, work together in the future in close friendship and cooperation. We have no designs on the Government of the United Nations nor upon the Government of Soviet Russia. We believe in the self determination of peoples of all nations. We insist and demand that we be permitted to determine our own form of government. We are resolved that the end of the war shall not see the end of our American way of life. Therefore, we should not tolerate in our midst, either the fifth column of the enemies we fight on the far-flung battlefields of the world, or the Fifth Column of the allies with whom we fight as well.

The war is one thing. Our peace, tranquillity and security at home, in California and in the United States, is another thing. We must not forget that the transcendent arch-enemy which the Communist Third International, and its affiliated parties throughout the world and the whole elaborate Communist hierarchy have been savagely, relentlessly, ruthlessly and fanatically fighting since the inception of the Comintern, is Capitalism. The complete smashing by force of every capitalist government—yes, and of every Democracy—and the establishment of a world-wide dictatorship of the proletariat is the long range objective of the Comintern. The mere intervention of this global conflict will not, for an instant, change the allegedly scientific socialism of Karl Marx or in any manner amend or lessen the basic ideologies of the Communist movement which is indelibly burned into the mind and fibre of every real indoctrinated Communist.

The committee is likewise aware of the cleverly conceived and still more cleverly executed psychological warfare plans of pro-Axis forces in the United States. We have become thoroughly familiar with the patterns of Axis propaganda, its use of prejudices and its play on ignorance and emotion. The committee has gathered considerable evidence, proving beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the pro-Axis forces in California and in the United States, have used in the past, and are well prepared to use in the future, the Communist Party and Soviet Russia as a basis for a negotiated peace with Germany and the Axis powers. Hitler used the Communist menace as a stepladder to the Fuehrership of the Third Reich. Therefore, the committee emphatically warns the people of California and of the United States to be watchful and aware of such a pro-Axis scheme. Our country and its leaders have never quarreled with the people of other countries in the determination of their particular forms of government. We reiterate that we in America have no quarrel with Soviet Russia, as a government, in its form of government, its economics, or its internal laws. We have never sought officially or otherwise to dictate to the people of Germany, of Italy or of Japan, the form of government under which they should live. We have never sent emissaries from the United States to undermine or destroy the governments of foreign countries. We have never attempted to indoctrinate the people of other countries with our philosophy of government nor have we stirred them up for the purpose of undermining and sabotaging their institutions. We have no quarrel with the Monarchy of Great Britain. We have no quarrel with the form of the governments of the United Nations. We, therefore, believe that we have a right to be free of molestation and interference in our own Nation as to our particular type of government and its institutions. If we are not concerned about the preservation of our American Democracy, its Constitution, its government and its institutions, then, of course, it doesn't very much matter. The committee believes, however, that we are *vitally* concerned. Thus it is, that we carefully distinguish between the government of Soviet Russia, our ally in fighting the common enemy, Nazi-Germany, and the Communist Party of the United States, which has as its long range objective the destruction of our form of government. It is only incidental, and considerably aside from the main question, that the Communist Party of the United States, in carrying out its policy of protecting the Soviet Union, joins presently in our all-out war effort against the common enemy.

Clear thinking in these times is vitally important. The committee learned that when it investigated the Communists in California, that the Communists attacked the committee as being "Fascist" and, after the invasion of Russia by Germany as agents of Hitler. When the committee investigated the *German-American Bund*, the *Friends of Progress*, and the Italian-Fascist groups throughout the State, the committee was attacked by these groups as being "Communist." The pattern of psychological propaganda in this respect was the same on either side of the picture. This strategy is being carried to great lengths at present by the Communist Party in California. An attack upon the American Communist, according to the American Communist, is an attack upon American "unity" and whoever indulges in such attacks, proclaims the American Communist, is an ally of Hitler and the Axis

powers. The "unity" that the Communist Party babbles about at this time is the unity of a drop of arsenic in a glass of milk. If anyone complains of the arsenic, argues the Communist, he is disrupting "unity." It is the psychology of the classical proposal of an alternate selection of death; hanging or shooting, and the human mind sometimes does not reason clearly enough to recognize the fundamental and actual desire, merely to live. Americans want neither hanging nor shooting, neither Fascism nor Communism. They want American Democracy, constitutional government, free enterprise, civil liberties, freedom, and the unhindered enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The distinction the committee makes in this connection is a very real one. How many of our people ever heard of a man by the name of Michael Kalinin? Everyone has heard of Stalin. Yet Stalin has no position, whatsoever, in the Soviet government. Michael Kalinin is the head of the *Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics*. Joseph Stalin is merely the Secretary of the Communist Party of Russia.

## 2

### RED-BAITING AND RED-BAITERS

The average citizen knows little or nothing of Communism. He has been the victim of a steady barrage of clever propaganda under which true designs and purposes are concealed. He has been led to believe that anyone who advocates a more equal distribution of the world's goods and who fights for the oppressed and the exploited is called a "Communist" by the so-called "reactionary" press and the spokesmen of large corporations. If Mr. Average Citizen has heard Communism defined at all, it has been on the basis of the theory of John Mill who defined "Communism" as "An equality of distribution of the physical means of life and enjoyment as a transition to a still higher standard of justice that all should work according to their capacity and receive according to their need." John Mill's definition of Communism is the cheese in the trap for the unwary mouse, Mr. Average Citizen.

Generally, Mr. Average Citizen has never met anyone who admitted he was a Communist. He has undoubtedly heard of Mr. Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and perhaps he has even seen photographs of Mr. Browder. He may have heard that "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism." In recent years he has heard that Communism is based on the principles of Jefferson, Washington, Lincoln, Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Certainly, reasons Mr. Average Citizen, (if he is actually reasoning and not merely reacting to his conditioned reflexes), if Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln are in agreement with Marx, Lenin and Stalin, then, certainly, Communism is, in fact, *really* Twentieth Century Americanism.

If our Mr. Average Citizen has *really* been doing any thinking in recent years, he must undoubtedly have been considerably confused and dismayed by the apparently twisting Communist "party line" in America. He would like to discuss the matter and to learn the reasons and the motivating force behind Communist machinations in California and in the United States. This, however, he finds he can not do. Some strange spell has been cast over his mind. He finds that

he can not reason at all when it comes to a discussion of Communism. The more intellectual he happens to be; the more he considers himself a "liberal" or a "progressive" the more inhibited he finds himself when faced with this vague and mysterious subject of Communism.

While Mr. Average Citizen really knows little of the subject, its objectives and its purposes, he has heard of a terrible group of people generally referred to as "red-baiters." Depending on the current policy of the Communist Party, these "red-baiters" are the paid emissaries of a variety of devils. Most generally the masters of the "red-baiters" are exploiting capitalists and "reactionary" taskmasters. More recently these "red-baiters" are the propagandists of Fascism and the designing agents of Hitler's Fifth Column in America. Actually, however, Mr. Average Citizen really does not know what the term means. He dare not even plumb the depth of its horrible implications. If he happens to imagine himself a "liberal" or a "progressive" he will shy away from anyone who attacks Stalin's particular brand of Communism. He will avoid anyone who attacks Stalin's Sacred Cow. Anyone in America may attack the Socialists, the Trotskyites, the Nazis or the Fascists, with impunity but when Soviet Russia or the loyal comrades of Stalin's administration are attacked, they fall into that terrible category, that abyss of depravation, referred to as "red-baiters." A "liberal" or a "progressive" who falls into the sin of attacking Communism of the Stalin school, particularly if such "liberal" or "progressive" happens to be a sincere and sensitive soul, feels that he has sunk to the lowest depths of depravity; that he has betrayed his best friend and has lost caste over the face of the earth. It is as though a voodoo doctor had cast a spell over his mind; an enchantment of black magic suddenly conjured by name-calling. To sincere and sensitive individuals other Communist names such as "stool pigeon," "renegade liberal," "strike-breaker" and "social Fasceist" are name-taboos soul-shattering and terrifying, but for devastation complete, "red-baiting" is in a class by itself. The strange efficacy of the term has closed and kept shut the mouths of many disillusioned ex-Communists. Fear of this stinging epithet holds the tongue and hands of many who might speak and write on the subject with authority. Politicians, in trembling fear of the appellation, avoid Communism in campaign speeches and in the exercise of the public offices to which they are elected. This strange, paralyzing fear of a name should engage the attention of psychiatrists and psychologists.

Our American history is full of occasions of biting and derisive name-calling but throughout its crowded pages there have always appeared men of courage who feared neither the names or the caller-of-names. But only a few men during the past several years have had the courage to stand up under the paralyzing accusation of being a "red-baiter." There is little wonder, then, that Mr. Average Citizen is confused and dismayed when confronted with, what must appear to him to be a vague and unsubstantial thing—Communism.

Eugene Lyons, in his book on Stalinist penetration of America, "*The Red Decade*," has written brilliantly in defense of red-baiting. He sums it up as follows:

"There can be no clear thinking, no clear examination of the issues raised by the Kremlin's intrusion in American

life until the red-baiter taboo has been exorcised. A beginning, at least, can be made if those who expose Communist sculduggery walk up boldly to the terrible hobgoblin and, taking their courage in their hands, say, "Boo!" right in its face. After that, I can assure them, they will be able to wear the red-baiter tag with a flourish of pride, and their sleep will be as sweet as a healthy infant's. \* \* \* What is more, I challenge all intellectually honest liberals to break through their inhibitions by saying, "Boo!" They will not find it easy at first, of course, and may have to practice it before their mirrors with doors closed and blinds drawn. But after a while they will discover that neither thunder nor lightning will descend on their heads, but only a spatter of harmless sparks unloosed from Thirteenth Street, off Union Square in New York. In the end they will be cured, and will be able to examine the mythology of Stalinism as calmly as the folklore of capitalism or the mythology of Hitlerism."

The Committee investigating un-American activities in California has followed Mr. Lyons' advice and has not only said "Boo!" to the hobgoblin red-baiter-taboo but has actually found courage to subpoena the medicine men of Communist Voodooism and compel them to testify in public hearings. The jungle drums of the Communist press have roared and sent up a great turmoil. New names have been invented and hurled with special venom at the committee and its members; distorted news items and lying editorials have been generously indulged in, but the spell has been broken. The committee is happy to report that the citizenry of California and of the United States may successfully risk "red-baiting" and the terrible appellation of "red-baiters."

### 3

#### SOURCES OF COMMUNIST INFORMATION

No attempt has been made by the committee to include in this report the details and ramifications of the extremely complicated ideology of Communism. The committee has been more concerned with the activities and manifestations in California of the Communist Party than with the ideology that moves and disciplines its members. The problem, however, cannot be understood unless some knowledge of the theory of Communism, its history, development and strategies are explained. The members of your committee, its investigators and representatives, in addition to examining Communist witnesses, have given considerable time to the study of Communist documents, textbooks and literature. Whatever the theoretical grounds and basis of Communism may purport to be, the committee is prepared to state the practical approach to the attainment of Communism in the United States of America is vicious and subversive. The committee, after its study and examination of Communist Party literature, textbooks and the works of contemporary writers who lived in Soviet Russia, concludes that all that remains of Communism in Soviet Russia is the name.

Even Joseph E. Davies writing in *Mission to Moscow* indicates this fact. The committee is prepared to state that Soviet Russia since 1935 has been, in fact, a Fascist state.

The committee examined and interrogated many experts on the subject of Communism and on the subject of Communism in Russia. It has questioned many disillusioned former members of the Communist Party. The affidavits of John G. Honeycombe and Rena M. Vale are set forth in full in this report. Both of these affidavits are outstanding evidence of the morass of intrigue and the insidious plotting of the Communist Party. The affidavit of Rena M. Vale is of exceptional value in the opinion of the committee. This unusual document of Communist undercover machination in the State of California should be read by every Californian.

To those who may be interested in pursuing the complicated ideology of Communism, its activities and machinations, the committee recommends its 16 volumes containing the transcript of testimony taken through 1941 to 1943 together with their exhibits. In this connection, the committee recommends to the Legislature, that these transcripts together with their exhibits, be published in their entirety. The committee has studied and drawn heavily on the entire library of Communist literature. The following list is recommended to those who wish to pursue the subject in greater detail:

1. *Das Kapital*, by Karl Marx.
2. *Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Frederich Engels.
3. *Official History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*.
4. *The World Communist Movement*, by G. Manuilsky.
5. *Men and Politics*, by Louis Fischer.
6. *I Confess*, by Benjamin Gitlow.
7. *The Red Decade*, by Eugene Lyons.
8. *The People's Front*, by Earl Browder.
9. *Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States*.

The last named, *The Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States*, is revised from time to time, as the laws of the Federal Government are revised, and the foreign policy of Soviet Russia changes. All of the publications mentioned, with the exception of those by Fischer, Lyons and Gitlow, may be purchased at any Communist book store in any of the large cities in California. Most of these book stores are easily identified as they are known as "Progressive" or "Workers" book stores, or some such equivalent name. Your committee considers the works by Eugene Lyons as particularly illuminating and informative. In addition to Lyons' *Red Decade*, the committee also recommends Lyons' *Assignment in Utopia* and *Stalin, Czar of All the Russias*.

In addition to the foregoing, members of the committee and its representatives have carefully examined the reports and records of similar committees and have had access to the files of law-enforcing bodies of the State and similar agencies. Confidential sources of information have been of great assistance in the preparation of public hearings and

have been the background upon which considerable evidence has ultimately been established.

The use of the word "*Communism*" in this report should be clearly understood. The committee wishes clearly to distinguish between such terms as "*Socialism*," "*Syndicalism*," "*Radicalism*," "*Anarchism*," or general philosophies of political, economic or social change and "*Communism*." When "*Communism*" is used in this report, the committee is referring to the revolutionary radicalism and totalitarianism of Stalin and the Third or Communist International which has its headquarters in Moscow. The terms "*Communism*," "*Stalinism*," "*Third International*," "*Communist International*" and "*Comintern*" are intended to convey the same meaning in the pages of the committee's report. The use of these terms is not to be confused with Socialism or philosophies of governmental reform divorced from foreign domination and control, and force and violence.

In addition to the sources listed above the committee has gathered the following material:

1. Photostats of all of the signers to Communist Party nominating petitions in California, including the appointments of members to the State Central Committee of the Communist Party. The files of the committee contain complete lists of every individual who has officially run for public office on the Communist Party ticket together with the registered members of the Communist Party who signed their nominating petitions.
2. Lists of all individuals who registered as Communists in various parts of the State.
3. Full data of the background and activity of California Communists and Fellow Travelers.
4. Identities, background and activities of individuals who have, from time to time, been identified with Communist causes in California, either in the category of "duples" and "innocents" or just Communist Party "window dressing."
5. Files of the Communist Party official publication on the West coast, the *People's Daily World*; current Communist magazines and Communist literature. From these publications the committee has been able to secure a rounded picture of Communist attempts to penetrate and capture the following:

Home Defense groups.  
Labor Unions.  
Consumers groups.  
Language and racial groups.  
Migratory labor and agriculture groups.  
Schools and colleges.  
Motion picture industry.  
Theatre and radio.  
Charitable organizations.  
Art and music.  
All fields of writing.

These publications clearly reveal Communist Party attempts to influence women's organizations, churches, State and Federal Govern-

ments, the Army and Navy, educational institutions and all mass organizations.

6. A mass of documents, photostats, inflammatory pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, reports and similar documentary evidence of the scope of the Communist Party's influence in propaganda fields.

## 4

### COMMUNIST THEORY AND PRACTICE

One of the stock questions asked by every American Communist and Communist Fellow Traveler when questioned as to his Communist affiliation is, "What is a Communist?" This is designed to leave the original questioner flabbergasted. The Communist or Communist Fellow Traveler, schooled in the art of oral fencing, readily falls back on the definition of "Communism" by John Mill. He is apt to counter, when definitely pinned down, to something, as follows: "If you mean by "Communism," an equality of the distribution of the physical means of life and the enjoyment thereof as a transition to a still higher standard of justice that all men and women should work according to their capacity and receive according to their needs, then I am a Communist." This economic delusion is supposed to leave its hearers fully convinced that the word "Communist" is a derogatory term for high-minded men and women who merely desire to make the world a better place in which to live.

Earl Browder has named the following as the basic texts of Communism: *The Manifesto*, by Marx and Engels; *Das Kapital*, by Karl Marx; *Fate and Revolution*, *Left Wing Communism*, and *What is to Be Done*, by Lenin; *Leninism*, by Stalin; *The United Front*, by Dimitrov, the Secretary of the Third International. Earl Browder, himself, has written the following books on the subject, which are accepted by the Communists as authoritative: *Communism in the United States* (1933-4); *What is Communism?* (1936); *The People's Front* (1937-8), and *Fighting for Peace* (1938-9).

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are the authors of the modern version of Communism and Lenin and Stalin are the modern interpreters and prophets. All Communist authorities agree with this statement. The *Manifesto*, written by Marx and Engels in 1848, may be considered the bible of Communism. The Marxian theory of Communism is supplemented in its modern version as to sovereignty and tactics to be employed for its attainment.

The First Communist International was created September 28, 1864, and was organized in London, England. The Second Communist International was organized in Paris in 1889. Lenin organized the Third Communist International in Moscow in 1919. Trotsky headed the Fourth International. Only about 3,000,000 adherents of Russian Communism have any voice whatsoever out of the 180,000,000 or more Russians in the Soviet government. Only the "politically most conscious" of the Russians may join the Communist Party of Russia. (Constitution, 1936, Article 126.)

Article XI of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Communist Party of the United States adopted in New York May 27-31, 1938, provides:

"The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is affiliated with its fraternal Communist Parties of other lands through

the Communist International and participates in International Congresses, through its National Committee. Resolutions and decisions of International Congresses shall be considered and acted upon by the supreme authority of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., the National Convention, or between Conventions, by the National Committee."

#### LEGAL AND ILLEGAL METHODS

The program of the Communist International bluntly directs " \* \* \* legal methods must unfailingly be combined with *illegal methods* \* \* \*." One of the conditions laid down for admission to the Communist International, promulgated by O. Piatnitsky, is as follows:

"The obligation to spread Communist ideas include the particular necessity of persistent, systematic propaganda in the army. Wherever such propaganda is forbidden by exceptional laws, it must be carried on *illegally*. The abandonment of such work would be equivalent to the betrayal of revolutionary duty and is incompatible with membership in the Third International."

Section 36 of Part V of the Constitution of the Communist International provides:

"The Communist Parties must be prepared for transition to *illegal* conditions. The E. C. C. I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International) must render the Parties concerned assistance in their preparations for transition to *illegal* conditions."

Joseph Stalin, himself, writing in Volume 1 of *Leninism* throws aside all pretense and states:

"The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with *illegal* work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his *illegal activities* for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the Bourgeoisie may be intensified."

Methods and tactics of combining legal work with illegal work on the part of the Communists everywhere accounts, particularly in the United States, for the secret, conspiratorial, underground groups, who use fictitious names and deny their affiliation with the party. These tactics readily explain the shifting and deceit in the changing public declarations and documents of open Communist functionaries. Thus, it is, when the Congress of the United States enacts a statute providing for the registration of the members of groups dominated by foreign governments, that the open functionaries of the Communist Party acting for the protection of the secret and underground membership, revise their public constitution "as a screen behind which \* \* \* the *illegal activities* for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the Bourgeoisie may be intensified."

The committee learned from William Schneiderman (Volume V, pp. 1260-1342) that the Communist Party did, in fact, call a special

National convention in New York on December 16, 1940 for the purpose of amending the Constitution to comply with the Voorhis Act—the Federal statute requiring the registration of subversive groups. In this connection Mr. Schneiderman stated that "revolution is one of the historical facts of the world \* \* \* we are part of it." He admitted that changes in the Communist Party Line in America and California were the result of changes in world events.

He said that the Communist Party believed it a mistake for the United States to enter the war until the Soviet Union was attacked. He amplified this statement by adding: "Any attack on the Soviet Union is an attack on the interests of the workers throughout the world." He stated that the use of the term "*Fatherland*," referring to Soviet Russia, was merely symbolic and that William Z. Foster used this term in the symbolic sense when he stated that "Russia was the Fatherland of all workers and the Red Flag the flag to which the Communist Party owed allegiance." He stated the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming" was the Communist Party slogan prior to the invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler but after the invasion it became a "reactionary slogan," and that after the Soviet Union was attacked the role of America was changed.

An understanding of this insidious method of combining legal with *illegal* methods on the part of the Communist Party in the United States explains many inconsistencies, mental maneuverings and actual perjuries on the part of many Communist witnesses who have testified before the committee.

#### FOREIGN CONTROL

The Honorable Charles Evans Hughes reporting to the United States Senate January 21, 1924 in his capacity as Secretary of State, said:

"It will be seen that the question of whether Communist programs contemplate the use of force and violence has been passed upon by every class of tribunal which would pass upon it, namely, Federal and State Courts, administrative tribunals and Legislative Committees of both Federal and State governments and in every case the result has been in support of the position that force and violence are inseparable from Communist programs."

Mr. Hughes stated further, in the same report:

"It is believed that the evidence presented by the Department of State established the unity of the Soviet Government, and the Communist International, all of which are controlled by a small group of individuals, technically known as the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party. Second, the spiritual and organic connection between this Moscow group and its agents in this country—the American Communist Party and its legal counterpart, the Workers' Party. Not only are these organizations the creation of Moscow, but the latter has also elaborated their program and controlled and supervised their activities. While there may have existed in the

United States individuals, and even groups imbued with the Marxist doctrines prior to the advent of the Communist International, the existence of a disciplined party equipped with a program aiming at the overthrow of the institutions of this country by force and violence is due to the intervention of the Bolshevik organizations into the domestic political life of the United States. The essential fact is the existence of an organization in the United States created by and completely subservient to a foreign organization striving to overthrow the existing social and political order of this country. Third, the subversive and pernicious activities of the American Communist Party and the Workers' Party and their subordinates and allied organs in the United States are activities resulting from and flowing out of the program elaborated for them by the Moscow group!"

Stalin told the American delegation to the Third Communist International in Moscow in 1927: "The Communist Party of America, as a section of the Third International must pay dues to the 'Kiminterne'."

William Z. Foster, three times a candidate for the President of the United States on the Communist ticket and an admitted member of the Third International, testified before a Congressional Committee of the United States Congress, as follows:

"\* \* \* The Communist International is a world party, based upon the mass parties in the respective countries. It works out its policy by the mass principles of these parties in all its deliberations. It is a party that conducts the most fundamental examination of all questions that come before it and, when a decision is arrived at in any given instance, this decision the workers, with their customary sense of proletarian discipline, accept and put into effect. \* \* \* The workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag and that is the red flag. \* \* \* The workers, the revolutionary workers, in all the capitalist countries are an oppressed class who are held in subjection by their respective capitalist governments and their attitude toward these governments is the abolition of these governments and the establishment of soviet governments. \* \* \* I stated very clearly the red flag is the flag of the revolutionary class, and we are part of the revolutionary class. \* \* \* And all capitalist flags are flags of the capitalist class, and we owe no allegiance to them."

William Z. Foster further testified :

"No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a National election, could, even if he would, become president of the present government. When a Communist heads a government of the United States, and that will come just as surely as the sun rises, that gov-

ernment will not be a capitalistic government, but a soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat."

If anyone should believe that the testimony given by William Z. Foster, as quoted above, reflected a passing period of Communist policy, the recent testimony given by Mr. Foster before the Dies Committee on September 29, 1939, dissipates that idea. Mr. Foster virtually confirmed the testimony he had given before another congressional committee several years previous. Earl Browder testified before the Dies Committee in September of 1939 also, and stated: "The Communist Party of the United States is affiliated with the Communist International \* \* \*. We have participated in the International Congress; we have sent delegates to all the International Congresses since the third Congress \* \* \*. It was only an organizational question that there was any ignoring of the Constitution. Politically, there has been the closest collaboration, the closest relationship \* \* \*. So far as the political essence of the problem is concerned, there is the closest harmony between the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist International." In order that no doubt be left on the subject, Mr. Browder stated there is no "single instance where the Communist Party of the United States has ever disagreed with the Communist Line in Russia."

As will be shown later, the *foreign policy, need and ambition* of Soviet Russia itself determines the policies of its Communist branches throughout the countries of the world. The method promulgated by the Third International for the combining of legal and *illegal* tactics in the countries in which the branches are operating, permit the Communist Parties literally to "fly through the air with the greatest ease," leaping from one convenient trapeze to another. Thus, the enactment of Federal statutes, providing, in part, that all organizations controlled or dominated by a foreign power, register as such with the Department of State, saw a frantically-called special convention of the Communist Party of the United States November 16-17, 1940. Certain of the gullibility of Americans in their unquestioning acceptance at face value of the truthfulness and honesty of anything printed in a so-called constitution, this convention of the Communist Party amended its so-called constitution to conform to the new Federal statutes. Thus it was that the revised constitution emanating from this special convention of the Communist Party of the United States provided in Article VII, Section 1, as follows:

"The supreme authority in the Communist Party of the U. S. A., is the national convention. Regular national conventions shall be held every two years. Only national conventions are authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire party and its membership, except as provided in Article VII, Section 6." (Section 6 provides that between conventions the highest authority of the party is the National Committee.)

As far as the new constitution is concerned, the Communist Party of the United States was divorced from the Third International. The

Communist Party press in the United States openly laughed at the subterfuge—this typical application of the method of combining legal with *illegal* tactics. Actually the Communist Party of the United States redoubled its efforts for the sabotaging of our defense efforts and continued to carry out the mandates of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Paid Communist functionaries, such as Jack Moore and William Schneiderman, when subpoenaed before the public hearings of the committee, were able to shout from the housetops that the Communist Party was a law-abiding political group “carrying forward the traditions of Jefferson, Payne, Jackson and Lincoln,” upholding “the achievements of Democracy, the right of ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,’ ” and that the Communist Party “defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy Democracy and all civil liberties.”

#### FORCE AND VIOLENCE

The *Manifesto*, by Marx and Engels, states: “\* \* \* Communists scorn to hide their views and aims. They openly declare that their purpose can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the whole extant social order. Let the ruling classes tremble at the prospect of a Communist revolution. Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands, unite!”

Lenin stated: “The dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing else than power based upon force and limited by nothing \* \* \* by no kind of law and by absolutely no rule.”

Earl Browder, the foremost exponent of Communism in the United States has stated in his book, “*What is Communism?*”:

“It must be emphasized that capitalism will not simply come to an end; it can only be ended by the organized actions of the working class in collaboration with its allies from other sections of the population. \* \* \* After this first step of taking state power has been realized, the workers make use of the state power to take possession of the instruments of production. Then the new government, at the head of the masses, reorganizes the entire national economy of the country in an organized and planned manner, along socialist lines. \* \* \* All revolutions have been made with weapons which the overthrown rulers had relied on for their protection. \* \* \* History does not show a single example in which state power was transferred from one class to another by peaceful means, whether in the form of voting or some other method of formal democracy. \* \* \* If the productive forces and accumulated wealth of society are to be preserved and further developed the property rights of the capitalists and the institutions by which they are maintained must be abolished and the exploiting minority and its agents suppressed. *Thus, some form of violence is unavoidable. There is no possible choice between violence and non-violence. The only choice is between the two sides of the class struggle.*”

Stalin stated to the Communist Party of the United States of America in 1929: "I consider the Communist Party of the United States is one of the few Communist parties to which history has given decisive tasks from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. It is necessary that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting the moment of crisis fully equipped to take the direction of future class wars in the United States. You must forge real revolutionary cadres and leaders of the proletariat who will be capable of leading the millions of American workers toward the revolutionary class war."

William Z. Foster stated in 1928 when accepting the Communist Party nomination for President of the United States: "We must utilize this campaign to carry on a widespread and energetic propaganda to teach the workers that the capitalist class would never allow the working class *peaceably* to take control of the state. That is their strong right arm, and they will fight violently to the end to retain it. We working class must shatter the capitalistic state. We must build a new state, a new government, a workers' and farmers' government, *the Soviet Government of the United States.* \* \* \* In all our agitation around these demands we must emphasize the absolute necessity for the proletarian revolution. Our strategy is to utilize these immediate demands to educate and organize the masses in preparation for the final revolutionary struggle, which will abolish capitalism altogether. *Reliance upon immediate demands would lead us merely to reformism.* Our party is a revolutionary party. \* \* \*"

Your committee might continue quoting from official Communist sources for many pages in reference to the program of force and violence advocated by the Communist Party for the overthrow of the Government of the United States, but it is felt the above quotations will suffice. It may be said without fear of contradiction that the Communist Party in America and the Communist Parties throughout the world, under the domination of the Third International, have, as their ultimate and long-range objective the destruction of all existing democracies and governments by force and violence and the establishment of soviet governments in their stead under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The objective of world-wide revolution and the destruction of existing governments by force and violence, and the establishment of soviets, is the long range plan of the Stalinist Communist. It is an objective that can be postponed from time to time in view of the ever immediate objective of the Communist Parties of the world. Soviet Russia, itself, is the immediate consideration, and its protection, as the Fatherland of the proletariat, is ever present in the minds of Stalin's loyal comrades everywhere. An understanding of these two fundamental objectives of the Communist Party and the Third International is absolutely necessary in order intelligently to follow the apparently twisting policies and "Party Line" of the American Communist Party in California and in the United States.

#### DAY-TO-DAY STRUGGLES

"Softening-up processes" of "decadent" bourgeoisie democracy is known in Communist Party pig-Latin as the technique of the "day-to-day struggle" against the "bosses" and the "bosses' government."

Under the heading of "Immediate, and Partial Demands," the Communist Party hopes to move the non-Communist masses toward the blood-and-thunder era in which the government will be overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat established. No issue is too small or insignificant for Communist Party strategical utilization. The issue may be social, political or economic. Immediate issues such as wages, working conditions, hours, civil rights, liberties, and zoot-suit gangs all afford opportunities for agitation in the "day-to-day struggle." The whole purpose of the strategy is to arouse the masses, the non-Communist masses, against the "bosses" and to direct public resentment against the "bosses'" government. By this tactic the Communist Party believes that it extends its own influence with the people and, when public resentment is whipped to a white heat, will offer an opportunity to the Communists to lead the masses in civil war and armed revolt against the government.

Jack Stachel, writing in *The Communist* for November, 1934, under the title of "*Our Trade Union Policy, a Report to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee,*" states: "Our basic task in trade union work, as Communists, is to organize and lead the masses in a struggle for their immediate economic and political needs, and, in the course of these struggles \* \* \* to revolutionize these masses, to mobilize them for the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism."

V. Adoratsky writing in *The Communist* for May, 1932, states:

"\* \* \* Leninism does not limit the movement to any one particular form of struggle, but rather strives to master all forms. Various forms of proletarian struggle are the strike movement, demonstrations, parliamentary struggle, revolutionary utilization of parliament when the situation demands it, and also the higher forms of struggle: armed uprising, civil war, dictatorship of the proletariat. In the second place, Leninism approaches the problem as to what particular form of struggle is to be utilized, historically, in connection with and taking into consideration the entire concrete situation. In the choice of means it is necessary to show the greatest flexibility."

This particular technique of "Immediate and partial demands" in the so-called "day-to-day struggle" of the Communist Party, must be understood if the agitational techniques of the conspiracy are to be exposed and combated. Members of legislative bodies, public officials and the people generally should be warned carefully to distinguish between Communist Party agitation *per se* and legitimate issues of real public concern.

#### RELIGION

Modern Communism and its true believers abhor religion. Earl Browder has stated: "We Communists do not distinguish between good and bad religion, because we think they are all bad for the masses." William Z. Foster, testified before a congressional committee, that: "Our party considers religion to be the opium of the people."

Experts on Communist history, theory and the laws of Soviet Russia have stated to your committee that Communism is the most *intolerant* of all *isms*, in spite of the loud-mouthed boastings of the American Communist that the members of their party are "liberals" and "progressives." In connection with the subject of religious tolerance and freedom in Soviet Russia, which Communist apologists are now proclaiming to the unsuspecting citizenry of the United States in their drive to make Soviet Russia appear as a *Democracy* instead of the absolute totalitarian dictatorship that it is, the committee quotes Article 126 of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, now being sold two for a nickel, neatly bound and carefully printed in English by Ogiz, State Publishing House of Political Literature, Soviet Russia, 1938:

"Article 126. In conformity with the interest of the working people, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activities of the masses of the people, citizens of the U. S. S. R. are ensured the right to unite in public organizations—trade unions, cooperative associations, youth organizations, sport and defense organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically most conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the *Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state." (Italics are the committee's.)

Thus, the great "democratic," intolerant dictatorship of the proletariat as enunciated by its constitution permits its people to organize into particular and *specifically* named societies, thus excluding those not catalogued. This "tolerance" and "democracy" goes even further; it permits the most active and politically *most conscious* citizens actually to unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Thus, the constitution itself excludes and makes illegal organizations and societies based on any other school of thought than Communism.

Article 124 of the aforesaid Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics provides:

"In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the U. S. S. R. is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." (Committee's italics.)

At first blush, and without further information, it would appear that this guarantee of both religious and anti-religious freedom was the acme of religious tolerance. Vladimir Gsovski, who was formerly a County Judge and lawyer in Russia, and who is presently Assistant in Foreign Law to the Law Librarian of Congress and a professor in Russian at Georgetown University in the School of Foreign Service,

has written on the legal status of the church in Soviet Russia in 8 Fordham Law Review, 1, January, 1939. Mr. Gsovski states:

"The Soviet laws directly dealing with religion and the church are not the only factors determining the status of the church in Soviet Russia. Inimical attitude toward religion in the Communist philosophy has contributed largely to the manner in which the laws were interpreted and applied. Stress is laid at one time upon propaganda, at another time upon direct persecution and suppression. To deprive the churches of any possibility of exercising influence upon the people even outside of politics is the real tenor of all the acts of the Soviet Government. To create conditions for replacement of religion by atheism is its real aim."

The committee, at this point, wishes to stress the alleged constitutional freedom of *religious worship* and the *freedom of anti-religious propaganda*. The freedom of *religious propaganda* is thereby prohibited. On this point, Mr. Gsovski writing on the legal status of the church in Soviet Russia, states:

"In 1929 the constitutions of the major soviet republics were amended to make clear the prohibition of religious propaganda and this modified text was incorporated into the 1936 constitution."

Mr. Gsovski's treatise on this subject may be summed up as follows: Soviet statutes do not recognize the church as an organized aggregation of parishes of a given denomination. All such units, if they exist at all, must be strictly local in character. All churches are completely deprived of any property rights. Even the ownership of vestments, utensils, chalices and other objects which are merely destined for purely liturgical and ceremonial use are denied to them. All objects of historical or artistic value are taken from the churches and removed to museums, if the objects do not have a material value. Any gift made to a church or religious organization, under Soviet law, automatically becomes the property of the Soviet state, and is subject to disposal by Soviet authority. Any establishment of regular membership fee is forbidden by Soviet law under a penalty.

The activities of a church or religious group, referred to in Soviet law as a "religious association," are strictly confined to what the Soviet law terms "performance of the cult," that is, to bare performance of ceremony. "Religious associations" is a term in Soviet law that has no remote relationship to the legal entities embodied in the Anglo-Saxon sense. Under Soviet law, no church may dispense charity, teach religious doctrines, even to its own members or their children. Religious ceremonies or the display of religious symbols are strictly prohibited under heavy penalty in any governmental, public, cooperative or private institution or enterprise or in commonly used premises of an apartment. Special permission of the government must be obtained two weeks in advance for the customary God services in the open air or in any other premises than the church. Christmas and Easter are *not* holidays in Soviet Russia. Any worker who attends

church on either of these days and who fails to put in an appearance at his place of work is summarily dismissed.

Soviet statutes strictly prohibit the teaching of religion or "any form of religious belief" by the church. These statutes go even further in prohibiting the teaching "of any form of religious belief" in any educational establishment and also in "teaching religious doctrine to persons under 18 years of age." Mr. Gsovski, in this connection, states: "Soviet regulations are not confined to a negative combat of religion, but a *positive program of atheistic education* is officially established for the Soviet schools."

In reference to the persecution of the clergy, Mr. Gsovski says: "For 18 years limitations and especially heavy financial burdens were imposed upon the clergy of all denominations and upon monks and nuns. From the first Soviet Constitution of July, 1918 to the Constitution of 1936 the laws deprived the clergy of franchise. The disfranchise not only affected the right to vote, and to be members of the trade unions and therefore be lawfully employed especially in governmental enterprises, but also imposed higher rents for their apartments. When food and other commodities were distributed by ration on cards, disfranchised persons were deprived of such cards. Their children were practically barred from education and employment. They were subject to specially high taxes."

A religious man is suspected by the Communists of being inimical to the Soviet Government and almost automatically involves the accusation of *counter-revolutionist*. Mr. Gsovski points out that the definition of "counter-revolutionary" crime is couched in very general terms which are much broader than that of political crimes. Moreover, the Soviet court has power to sentence for acts not expressly dealt with in the Penal Code. The law provides: "Propaganda or agitation containing an appeal to overthrow, undermine, or weaken the Soviet authority or to commit individual counter-revolutionary crimes, or the dissemination, preparation, or possession of literature containing such matter \* \* \* if done \* \* \* by utilizing religious or racial prejudices"—entails the death penalty. Set up, side by side with the courts, are special government departments that have broad power to inflict heavy penalties without any judicial procedure and without trial, and not bound by any substantive or adjective law. These special government departments are variously known as Cheka, GPU, OGPU and, since 1934, the Federal Commissariat of the Interior—Narkomvnudel (NKVD). Mr. Gsovski states that: "For several years it had first the actual power and later the right to put to death after secret procedure, or sentence to penal servitude (labor camps) or exile." Mr. Gsovski concludes with this statement:

"The entire set-up of the Soviet penal system does not offer any convincing evidence that the high number of prelates, priests, monks, and active parishioners were engaged in the counter-revolutionary activities for which they were prosecuted. Separation of state and church declared in Soviet decrees means actually the suppression of the church by an atheistic state. Soviet legislation on religion is a legislation of militant atheism which sought to eradicate religion from the human mind."

Much ado by American Communists was made over the new Constitution of December, 1936, above referred to and quoted, as to its guarantee of religious freedom. As a matter of fact, all information and evidence available, points to a marked increase in anti-religious activity on the part of the several agencies of the Soviet Government and certainly there has been no change in the religious outlook of American Communists. This anti-religious campaign is directed against all religions—Catholic, Protestant, Greek Orthodox, Mohammedan and Jewish. Corliss Lamont, formerly head of the Friends of Soviet Russia, wrote in *Soviet Russia and Religion*: "The truth is that the social roots of religion are well on the way towards being totally abolished in Soviet Russia." In this same work, Mr. Lamont states as follows:

"It now remains to be asked to what extent the anti-religious campaign has been successful. The most recent figures were announced at the meeting held in Moscow in February, 1936, to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Union of Militant Atheists. The union now boasts a membership of more than 5,000,000 with 50,000 active local organizations. There is also the youth section, the Young Militant Atheists, who number over 2,000,000. During its existence the union has published more than 1,000 anti-religious titles, with the actual total of books and pamphlets issued running into several million \* \* \*. Emelian Yaroslavsky, old Bolshevik and friend of Lenin's, who is President of the Union of Militant Atheists, claims that there are approximately 40,000,000 active atheists in the U. S. S. R. out of a population now close to 170,000,000."

Mr. Earl Browder, the American prophet of the dictatorship of the proletariat, states in *Religion and Communism*: "From this estimate of the social role of religion, it is quite clear that the Communist Party is the enemy of religion. We Communists try to do the opposite of what we hold religion does."

In a book, *Teachings of Marx for Boys and Girls*, by William Montgomery Brown, your Committee finds the following:

"Religion is a dangerous dope because it takes the people's mind off their misery and their poverty. Religion is dope like opium. Well, religion acts the same on the poor American as opium does on the Chinese coolie. Now you will understand one of the most famous sayings of the great Karl Marx. He said, 'Religion is the opium of the people.' It makes them dream of a heaven in which they will be rewarded forever, if they suffer patiently the hell they have on earth. The preacher dopes them with his sermon. Then they go home dreaming about the beautiful heaven which is no more real than the beautiful palace of a Chinaman's opium dream."

The committee believes that it is unnecessary to extend this part of its report any further. It is the definite and abiding conviction of the members of the committee that the Communist Party seeks, not

only to destroy our government, its Constitution and the American way of life, but to destroy our religion and religious institutions as well.

#### LEGAL POLITICAL COMMUNIST PARTY—A FICTION

The fourth period of Communist development and strategy in the United States, based on the parallel period of the *need, ambition* and *foreign policy* of Soviet Russia, saw the rise of Communism in the United States as a legally constituted political party. While beginnings had been made before this period the names selected had been more deceiving, such as the Communist Labor Party, Workers' Party, et cetera. It must be remembered that this fourth period, beginning in 1935, had seen the launching of the Trojan Horse Cavalry and the creation of "people's fronts," "popular fronts" and "collective security." Fascization of Soviet Russia had been under way for some time. Stalin had despaired of forming an advantageous pact with Hitler and Mussolini and was in growing fear of a German and Japanese war. The comrades of the Communist Parties of the world were ordered to sell Soviet Russia to their respective countries on the basis of "Democracy" and "anti-Fascism." In conformity with the new slogan "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism" and the Communist-advertised agreements between Marx, Lenin, and Stalin and Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, the Communist Party of the United States of America launched its *legal* political party in earnest. The revolutionary character of the party had not changed. It was merely in moth balls. What the Communist Party of America did, so reasoned the Kremlin strategists, reflected the character of the Soviet Government. So it was that selected comrades in the various states were ordered to register as members of a legally constituted Communist Party. Former members of the Communist Party have stated that at no time in the United States did more than 20 per cent of the membership of the Communist Party register openly as such. This strategy served two purposes. First, it helped the Red Fatherland in its current maneuvering and secondly, it permitted greater recruiting of unwary Americans into the party and gave an air of respectability to the odious appellation of "Communist."

It must be emphasized and remembered that the Communist Party is fundamentally and basically a secret, conspiratorial branch of a foreign government. Its members, for the greater part, in affiliating with this secret and conspiratorial group, do so under assumed and fictitious names. The committee has examined many Communist Party membership books and has in its files photostats of the applications for membership of many Communists. In nearly every case the applicant gives first his real name and then sets forth the fictitious name under which he desires to be known in Communist circles. The majority of Communist members are registered in other legal parties, and in recent years have concentrated in the Democratic Party. In the period under discussion, the Communists in California were able practically to capture the Young Democrats of this State, and had strong working fractions in nearly every official Democratic County Committee.

Your committee is in possession of a mass of evidence concerning many individuals throughout the State of California and their relationship with the official secret, conspiratorial Communist Party.

Where such an individual is of prominence, and therefore of great value to the Communist strategy, no record whatsoever is made of such an individual's affiliation. Among the Communists themselves such an individual is referred to as "a member at large." Because of his or her importance, no formal application for membership is ever demanded and no party-book or other indicia of membership is issued. For general purposes such individuals are generally listed as "fellow travelers." He or she is easily catalogued once the observer understands the policies of Soviet Russia and its agents in California and in the United States. The "fellow traveler" follows the party line without deviation. If his activities tally with the changing policies of the periods of Communist strategy outlined herein, there can be little doubt of his close association with the Communist Party of America. The real *liberal* or *progressive*, retaining intellectual independence and freedom of thought, is not for any great length of time a fellow traveler in this sense. The true fellow traveler is one who called Roosevelt a *war monger* from 1939 to June 22, 1941 and who subsequently took the breath taking flip-flop on June 22, 1941 when Hitler invaded Soviet Russia. The fellow traveler is never registered in the legally constituted Communist Party.

Typical of witnesses who deny affiliation with the Communist Party but whose activities and philosophy meticulously follow the Communist Party line was Laurence B. Smith (Volume VIII, pp. 2432-2437). Mr. Smith told the committee that he had never affiliated with the Communist Party but that he had attended many of their functions. He told of attending a function given for the benefit of the *People's Daily World*, Communist Party newspaper, in the C. I. O. Hall on Eighth Street, in San Diego, in April of 1941 and of attending a meeting in Los Angeles in November of 1941 to hear Robert Minor, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States. He admitted having made contributions for the defense of William Schneiderman. He had been a member of the *American Civil Liberties Union* for some seven or eight years. He frankly told the committee that he was against sending aid to Great Britain until they were "united to defeat Fascism." (Great Britain united, according to Communist reasoning, to "defeat Fascism" when Soviet Russia was invaded by Nazi-Germany.) Mr. Smith added: "If that's the party line, I agree with it."

The people of California should recall that practically every appellate court decision passing on Communism in California has adjudicated it to be a criminal conspiracy to destroy the government of the State and of the Nation and the property of the citizenry by force, violence, sabotage and treason. In the case of the People vs. Taylor, 187 Cal. 378, the court stated: "There seems to be no doubt that its aims, objectives and purposes were in full accord and in entire sympathy of that body (Communist Party of Russia) in Russia." The court went on to further state that: "Taylor disclaimed any hope of success of change through the ballot, and advocated getting results by force. He favored sabotage as a weapon of the working class against the employers and capitalists \* \* \*. During the time he was advocating all such measures, Taylor was active in the work of the Communist Labor Party."

The agitation-propaganda department of the Communist Party, known to the Communist as the "Agit-Prop" has laid down a policy of disloyalty to the United States. This has been confirmed by testimony of Earl Browder under oath. When questioned as to the attitude of the American Communist in event of war between the United States and Soviet Russia, Mr. Browder stated as follows: "The American workers, when called upon to go into this war against the Soviet Union, must refuse to fight against the Russian workers, and go over on the side of the Red Army. The American workers, like the Russian workers in 1917, must turn the imperialist war into a civil war against the real enemies—the capitalist class of the United States which exploits and oppresses the American working class." Earl Browder further testified that if America made "an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, I would stand as absolutely opposed to such a war, and as doing everything possible to stop it. \* \* \* Even to turning such a war into a Civil war. \* \* \* I can only answer for myself personally, and I can not say 'My country, right or wrong.' If I thought my country was wrong, I would oppose its entrance into such a war and conduct of such a war, just as I opposed the entrance of America into the war in 1917, when I thought it was wrong."

We have heretofore quoted William Z. Foster, who was the Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States and three times its candidate for the presidency of our country in reference to the Communist use of the ballot. It will not be remiss again to quote this leading light of Communism in the United States. He said: "\* \* \* The Communist International is a world Party, based upon the mass parties in the respective countries. \* \* \* I stated very clearly the Red Flag is the flag of the revolutionary class, and we are part of the revolutionary class \* \* \* and all capitalist flags are flags of the capitalist class, and we owe no allegiance to them. No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a National election, could, even if he would, become President of the present government. When a Communist heads a government of the United States, and that will come just as surely as the sun rises, that government will not be a capitalistic government, but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The attempt of the Communist Party of America to appear as a legally constituted political party is purely a fiction in full conformance with other fictions developed from time to time during its existence in the United States. The California Legislature of 1940 outlawed the Communist Party of California by statute. This statute has been attacked in the courts of this State and through typical Communist maneuvering, the Communist Party was able to avoid the issue in a trial court and subsequently placed its candidates on the 1942 primary election ballot. Your committee recommends that steps be taken to strengthen the statute wherever necessary to the end that this fiction of legality and respectability of a foreign-controlled subversive organization in the State of California be forever ended.

## TROTSKYISM

Leon Trotsky was one of the group that signed the Manifesto launching the Comintern in March of 1919. Undoubtedly Lenin distrusted Stalin and preferred Trotsky as his successor. All contemporary writers of the time and evidence available now indicates this fact clearly. Certainly Leon Trotsky was Lenin's closest associate and confidant. Stalin had moved cautiously and it was apparent in 1926 or 1927 that Trotsky's pretensions to the dictatorship were doomed. Charles E. Ruthenberg, "the American Lenin," died suddenly early in 1927 and the American Bolsheviks started a mass scramble for power in the United States. Jay Lovestone, Benjamin Gitlow, William Z. Foster and other pretenders to the throne vacated by the "American Lenin," Charles E. Ruthenberg, dashed madly off to the Kremlin in their scramble for Ruthenberg's crown. Jay Lovestone and his group, being luckier guessers than the others, for the time, at least, took the lead in demanding Trotsky's ouster from the International. Lovestone and his followers, subsequently slated for the same fate, viciously attacked Trotsky and his adherents as Trotskyites, a sort of "left-wing" Communism. Those who had espoused the cause of Leon Trotsky were branded as Trotskyites and the first major purge in the Communist Party of America occurred in 1928 when James Cannon, Max Schachtman and other bad-guessers on the outcome of the Stalin-Trotsky contest in Russia, were expelled from the party. Jay Lovestone and his American group later guessed wrong in a contest that developed between Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin. Although Stalin was reported as ridiculing rumors of an impending break between himself and Bukharin, clever Stalinists veered away from Bukharin. Jay Lovestone, representing the great majority of Communists in the United States, was foolish enough to believe Stalin's protestations and maintained friendly relations with Bukharin. Intrigue and plotting inside the Communist Party of the United States soon culminated in a smear campaign directed against Jay Lovestone and his adherents because of their friendship with Bukharin and they were attacked as "Bukharin Right Deviators." A Comintern Commission was set up in Moscow under the supervision of Viacheslav Molotov and Lovestone and his followers, although representing the greatest number of American Communists, were charged with treachery, stupidity and unprincipled opportunism and were thrown out of the party. Hence, the second great American purge by the Communist Party occurred in America and the expelled members became known as Lovestoneites.

The so-called orthodox Communists—orthodox because they follow the Stalin school and Stalin is on the throne in Moscow—undoubtedly reserve their deepest hatred for the Lovestoneites and the Trotskyites—and in any choice between these two factions and capitalism—the Stalinists would unhesitatingly take the latter. A person who merely murders his grandmother is a nice fellow compared to a Trotskyite, from the Stalinist point of view.

Don Morton, a former Communist Party member, told your committee (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794) that the Communist Party planted spies in the Socialist Party and in the Fourth International and that

these spies reported to the Stalinist group on the activities of the Trotskyites.

William Schneiderman (Vol. V, pp. 1260-1342), Secretary of the Communist Party in California, testified that the Communist Party regarded the Trotskyites as "agents of Fascism" and that they have held them in this light ever since they were expelled from the party. The Lovestoneites, according to Mr. Schneiderman, are viewed in the same category—"agents of Fascism." Illustrating the venom and bitterness with which the orthodox Stalinites look upon the Trotskyites, Mr. Schneiderman told the committee that Alexander Noral had denounced his sister, Norma Perry, for Trotskyite activities in San Francisco at a convention of the Communist Party in 1938.

Mr. William Schneiderman (Volume V, p. 1341) regarded the reading of Max Eastman "a waste of time." Mr. Eastman, he stated, belonged to the "Trotskyite element."

Mr. Bert Hanman, a self-admitted former member of both the Stalinist and Trotskyist variety of Communism in California, testified before your committee in San Francisco (Volume VI, pp. 1695-1727). Mr. Hanman testified that he had entered the University of California from Chowchilla in the Fall of 1925 and that he graduated from the College of Commerce in 1929 with a degree of B.S. He received his Masters Degree in Economics in 1930.

Returning to Chowchilla, Mr. Hanman took over his father's business and later decided to be a writer. He studied Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. About this time he met Norman Mini and William Gannon in Sacramento and also met Carl Patterson, the then State Organizer for the Communist Party. It was Mr. Patterson who started the *United Farmers' League* in California for small farmers. Mr. Hanman testified that this was a Communist Party front. Mr. Hanman stated that the movement began early in 1933 when most of California's small farmers were destitute. All of the members of the *United Farmers' League* were bona fide farmers except Patterson, the organizer. Mr. Hanman stated that he worked with the *United Farmers' League* and that he then joined the Communist Party, helping Patterson organize the farmers into a Communist Party Unit in Chowchilla. He stated that this became a unit of some 30 members.

Mr. Hanman was invited by Sam Darcy through Louise Todd to attend a district committee meeting of District 13 of the Communist Party in San Francisco. He told your committee that this meeting was held in a very secret manner in a garage. Among those present, Mr. Hanman named Lillian Monroe, Caroline Decker, Pat Chambers, Paul and Violet Orr, Elmer Hanoff, Sam Darcy, Louise Todd and Carl Patterson. Mr. Hanman stated that Elmer Hanoff was known at that time as the "Red Star Man," which term indicated a member of the Communist Party disciplinary body. Mr. Hanman testified that the vaunted and confusing term of Communist Party lingo, "Democratic centralism" really meant dictatorship. He stated that he had been led to believe that the Communist Party was a democratic organization but soon learned that it was built and functioned only on dictatorship lines. He testified that the Communist Party in California is completely controlled by a very small group sitting at the top.

He stated that party functionaries agreed with him that the Communist Party was not all that it should be.

One of the tactics used by the Communist Party in winning the farmers was by acting as the "Pied Piper" through the *United Farmers' League*. Through the activities of the league the county was induced to supply squirrel poison and the *United Farmers' League* members put it out helping the farmers thus rid themselves of a squirrel plague. Mr. Hanman said this tactic gave the farmers a feeling of unity and that it strengthened their morale. It was then easy enough for the Communist controlled *United Farmers' League* to lead them in requesting a reduction in power rates. Mr. Hanman testified that the *United Farmers' League* collapsed in 1934 after he moved from Chowchilla to Berkeley.

Mr. Hanman went to Salt Lake in 1934, at about the time Norman Mini and others were arrested and charged with criminal syndicalism. He stated that he was gone about three months and during this time he became interested in Trotsky's writings. He stated that he believed the Fourth International movement corrected many ills of the Third International. He discussed this matter with Norman Mini who agreed with him, mainly because criticism had become impossible in the Communist Third International.

Returning to Berkeley Mr. Hanman was reinstated in the Communist Party. Meanwhile Caroline Decker, Norman Mini and others were in jail in Sacramento on the Criminal Syndicalism charge and the Communist Party had made no attempt to bail them out. Mr. Hanman attended a joint county meeting of the East Bay Section of the Communist Party about this time and learned that the Communist Party was "disciplining" Caroline Decker and the others because of some trouble between a fraction of the *California Workers' Industrial Union* and the "Darcy Bureaucracy" over management of that organization. At this meeting, Mr. Hanman requested the Sacramento trial be placed on the agenda. This was refused. Mr. Hanman insisted on speaking of the Sacramento trial anyway. Miles Humphrey was the chairman of this meeting. Being unable to do anything for his comrades in Sacramento at the Communist East Bay Section meeting, he prepared a paper on the Sacramento cases and submitted same to Sam Darcy, sending a copy of the paper to Caroline Decker in Sacramento. Mr. Hanman testified that this action made Sam Darcy very angry. He was called before a general membership meeting of the Communist Party over which Elmer Hanoff, the "Red Star Man" presided. The witness told your committee that this was, indeed, bureaucracy "really at work." He testified that only members friendly to the bureaucracy were notified of the meeting and that he was not allowed to speak in his own behalf. He was charged with being a *Trotskyite* and the chief evidence in support of this charge was that he had had a cup of coffee with a known *Trotskyite*. Mr. Hanman testified that all rights of lower Communist Party organizational bodies were ignored. Despite the steam-roller methods used in expelling him, Hanman stated that there were several dissenting votes.

After his expulsion from the Communist Party Hanman immediately contacted a *Trotskyite* group in the bay area headed by one Barney Mayes. Mayes was at that time the editor of *The Voice of the*

*Federation of the Maritime Federation.* Hanman then joined the *Workers' Party*, the American section of the Fourth International, headed by Leon Trotsky. (Leon Trotsky was at that time in exile in Norway.) Hanman contacted the *Non-Partisan Labor Defense* (which is to the Fourth Communist International what the *International Labor Defense* is to the Communist Third International) on behalf of the Communist defendants charged with criminal syndicalism in Sacramento. He stated that the *Non-Partisan Labor Defense* raised money through the Socialist Party in New York and offered to put up bail for these defendants. When the Communist Party heard of this move on the part of the Trotskyist *Non-Partisan Labor Defense* it immediately ordered the Sacramento defendants to refuse "counter-revolutionary" bail. Hanman's activities for the defendants, however, caused the Communist Party immediately to busy itself in behalf of its "disciplined" members languishing in the Sacramento jail.

Mr. Hanman told your committee that after these events he acted as an organizer for the *Workers' Party* for a time and that he brought Lillian Monroe, Charles Cornell and a Joe Hanson of Salt Lake City into the Fourth International. Charles Cornell, the witness testified, later became a bodyguard for Leon Trotsky in Mexico and Joe Hanson became Trotsky's secretary.

The witness concluded his testimony by stating that after a time he began to run into the same sort of bureaucracy in the Fourth International as he had encountered in the Third; that he uncovered the same kind of double-dealing and the same lack of democracy under Trotsky that he found in the Stalin faction.

Mr. Hanman now looks upon himself as something of a "political derelict."

## 6

### SIX PERIODS OF COMMUNIST STRATEGY IN THE UNITED STATES

The average man can not be blamed for being confused by the Communist conspiracy in America. Distorted news items, lying editorials and articles profusely and generously scattered through Communist Party organs and the periodicals of front organizations and Innocent Clubs have carefully smudged and obscured the real objectives of these cheap conspirators in the American picture. This program of deceit and hypocrisy is part and parcel of Communist Party tactics. The greater part of the Communist press is disguised and for public consumption purports to be anything but what it really is. Front organizations, periodicals and magazines do most of the Trojan Horse work. Like its cowardly members, hiding their Communist Party affiliations under fictitious names, many of these disguised Communist periodicals and magazines find their way into the homes of unsuspecting and ordinarily patriotic Americans. There is little wonder that the average citizen is confused when confronted with Communism.

Although it is termed the Third or Communist International, the Communist International has never been international in the generally accepted sense of the term. The Bolshevik revolution which overthrew the Kerensky government under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky culminated in what is now known as the Communist International (also known as the Comintern). It was founded in the Kremlin in Moscow

in March of 1919 by 35 delegates and 15 guests. It is significant, in considering the international aspects of the so-called Communist International, that all but one of the founders were Russian. From its beginning up to the present time it has been characterized by a greedy and stubborn nationalism. The Communist parties that later developed in the other countries of the world, including the United States, have, in fact, only been branch parties of the Russian Home Office of the Comintern and these parties scattered throughout the world reflect in every instance, from the very beginning down to the present time, the *foreign policy* and the *interest* of Soviet Russia. Thus it is, that the policies, purges, leadership and the "party line" of the Communist Party in the United States have always turned on Soviet *events, ambitions and needs.*

The key to the strange activities, machinations and twisting policies of the torturous "Party Line" of the American Communist is found in the unchanging Communist slogan "*Defend the Soviet Union.*" It explains, also, the pitiful failures of the Communist Party in the United States to capture Yankee interest and support. Because its slogans and its policies were based on conditions existing in Soviet Russia and on the *foreign policy* of that country, the American people failed to respond to the ill-fitting and foreign-sounding slogans of a group of American lunatics concerned only with the protection of a foreign dictatorship. The turnover of membership in the Communist Party of the United States has been tremendous since its inception in 1919. The mortality rate in membership from year to year is significant of its failure to capture the American mind. Yankee practicality blinks unresponsively at slogans such as "*Defend the Soviet Union*" and "*The Americanism of Lenin and Lincoln.*" But, year after year, many a tricked and duped American has become in actuality the agent-stooge of the foreign, totalitarian, dictatorship of Soviet Russia.

To understand clearly so-called American Communism, it is necessary to examine its history since its inception in Chicago in 1919. This can only be intelligently done by a parallel examination of the history of the Soviet Union for the same period. Eugene Lyons has roughly divided Communist development in the United States into five ages, each period turning on events in Soviet Russia and reflecting in each period the *needs, ambition and foreign policy, NOT* of the United States, its workers or its people, but of Soviet Russia. To the five ages of Eugene Lyons your committee has added a sixth, and prognosticates a seventh. In order better to clarify the findings of your committee in the field of Communism, we briefly outline these six periods of Communist conspiracy in the United States.

#### FIRST PERIOD (1919 TO 1921)

The Bolshevik Government found its territory invaded and besieged by foreign armies and effectually blockaded in 1919. It needed a militant internationalism in non-Bolshevik countries to break the strangle hold of the economic blockade and it sorely needed a pro-Bolshevik sentiment in non-Bolshevik countries to bring about the withdrawal of the armies that were invading its boundaries. Consequently the Communist parties throughout the world were ordered to be militantly revolutionary and to work in their respective countries for the succor of the

Soviet Union. Hence, in the United States, the Communist Party, emerging from its Chicago convention in 1919, was fanatically revolutionary and conspiratorial and openly rebellious, calling for the immediate overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. It likewise propagandized for the Soviet Union and attempted to create pro-Bolshevik sympathies in America.

#### SECOND PERIOD (1921 TO 1928)

This period saw the launching of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in Russia. The new economic policy was, in fact, a compromise between state and private economy. The Soviet Union found itself in many economic difficulties and began to feel the need for exchange and traffic with other governments. To effectuate this it created the fiction of a separation between the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of Russia. This fiction was embellished and carried further by apparently effecting a separation between the Communist International and the Russian Communist Party. These fictions, it was believed, would soften the attitude of capitalistic governments and permit the Soviet Union to deal with them. As a result of this desperate need for exchange and traffic with other governments, the Communist Parties scattered throughout the world were ordered to retreat from their plotting and to soft-pedal their demand for open revolt and to do their propagandizing within the laws of their respective countries. A lull in world-wide revolutionary propaganda ensued and the comrades in the United States busied themselves with trapping and exploiting sympathetic liberals and progressives and in creating friends for Soviet Russia. The key phrases of this period were "United Front" and "Boring from Within."

#### THIRD PERIOD (1928 TO 1935)

This period saw the launching of the first "five-year plan" in Russia and the exiling of the so-called Communist Party "leftist," Leon Trotsky. NEP, the new economic policy, was violently wiped out. Private farming came to an end and the forcible socialization of farming began. The most brutal "speed-up" in the world's history began in Russian industry. Soviet Russia more and more turned to greedy nationalism. Workers' control in industry was completely abolished and Soviet Bureaucracy took over. History will undoubtedly reveal that the Fascization of Soviet Russia began in this era. Purges and official mass murders terrorized the entire country. The old Bolsheviks and the heroes of the revolution were slaughtered without compunction, sympathy or trial. Soviet Russia began to look for military alliances and started to woo Germany and Italy. A new revolutionary upsurge was ordained for the Communist Parties in the United States and throughout the world—a new revolutionary upsurge, not so much against capitalism, but more against socialists, conservative labor leaders and trade unionists, liberals and progressives—all lumped in one terrible category—"Social Fascists." This period of Soviet *need* and *ambition* undoubtedly cleared the way for Hitler and Mussolini.

## FOURTH PERIOD (1935 TO 1939)

Soviet Russia's unsuccessful wooing of Hitler and Mussolini led to the change of policy introduced to the world in 1935. The Seventh World Congress, held in Moscow in 1935, gave birth to the new Trojan Horse policy of Dimitrov and the subsequent creation of "Peoples" and "Popular" fronts. The fear of a German and Japanese invasion of Soviet Russia gave rise to a "collective security" policy and the Communist Parties in the United States and throughout the world were ordered to carry these new policies into effect. Despairing of any alliance with Germany or Italy, Soviet Russia decided to appear to be "democratic" and "anti-Fascist" and ordered the branches of the party throughout the world to propagandize and advertise Soviet Russia on this basis. The Communist Party in the United States became "Twentieth Century Americanism"—the real "friend" of democracy and the "guardian" of every tradition of freedom and civil liberty. The Communist Party of the United States went to great lengths to advertise Soviet Russia in this new "democratic" light. Soviet Russia, meanwhile, subscribed to the Kellogg Pact and made nonaggression pacts with her neighbors. Although Lenin had called the League of Nations the "League of Robber Nations," Stalin now entered the league. A phoney constitution for the Soviet Union was drawn but never put into effect and a short time later Stalin physically liquidated two-thirds of the members of the committee who drew the constitution. The threat of world-wide Communist revolution was laughed away and Stalin later lightly described it all as a "comic misunderstanding."

Anti-Nazi leagues flourished in the United States and the Anti-Nazi League of Hollywood grew to considerable proportions. The comrades in America and California exploited to the fullest the growing horror in the minds of all Americans of the brutality rampant in Hitler's Third Reich. The ruthless and barbarous persecution of the Jews by Hitler and his bloody minions, the unspeakable and unbelievable tortures inflicted on the innocent scapegoats of "Fuehrer Aryanism," stirred up a righteous indignation in the hearts of every liberty-loving American citizen. V. J. Jerome (whose true name is Isaac Romaine), personally supervised the organization of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. Mr. Jerome had been sent to Hollywood some time before by the Communist Party Central Committee to take over the duties of Stanley Lawrence in "improving cultural work" in California. It was V. J. Jerome who brought John Howard Lawson to Hollywood. He helped organize study clubs and coordinated Communist Party work between Hollywood groups and downtown Los Angeles sections. He was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States and co-editor of its magazine, *The Communist*, as well as being Chairman of the Cultural Commission of the Communist Party of the United States. The Anti-Nazi League banked some \$89,892.51 between May 14, 1935, and August 16, 1939.

In spite of this exploitation by the Communist Party of the emotional upsurge against Hitler and his regime, the American Communists regarded the war in Europe as purely an imperialistic struggle. The *party line* during this period was to heap abuse and

vilification upon, not only Nazi Germany and its Axis partners, but upon the victims of its aggression. Some 30 days before the amazing and abrupt termination of this fourth period of Communist strategy, Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov stated:

"\* \* \* there is nothing surprising in the fact that at the end of April the head of the German state in one speech scrapped two important international treaties—the naval agreement with Great Britain and the non-aggression pact between Germany and Poland. There was a time when great international significance was attached to these treaties. But Germany made short work of them, disregarding all formalities. Such was Germany's reply to the proposal of Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States—a proposal permeated with the peace-loving spirit." (*Soviet Union and the Peace Front*, by V. M. Molotov, International Publishers, Inc., page 5.)

#### FIFTH PERIOD (1939 TO JUNE 22, 1941)

The Soviet Union amazed the world and many of its deluded Communist members in the United States, by signing a pact with Nazi Germany, August 23, 1939. The Comintern immediately ordered its parties in the United States and throughout the world to renew their revolutionary character. "Collective Security" was immediately scuttled and the Communist parties everywhere became isolationists and belabored Great Britain and the "British Imperialist War." In the United States, the Communists launched the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and attacked President Roosevelt viciously as a "warmonger." Strikes in war and defense industries were fomented and viciously carried on by Communists throughout the United States. Meanwhile, Soviet Russia attacked Finland and partitioned Poland with her Nazi comrade-in-arms. Nazi Bundsters and American Communists joined hands in sabotaging United States aid to Great Britain. Members of both organizations began a penetration of the America First Committee. Conscription and lend-lease proposals were viciously and bitterly opposed. Anti-Nazi leagues in America were quickly abandoned for American Peace Mobilization fronts and new name-calling, including "warmonger" and "imperialist," were shouted at anyone who decried Nazi brutality and aggression. The fifth period of Communist development in the United States will always be remembered for its sharp curve in 1939 with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and its breath-taking flip-flop June 22, 1941 when Hitler's hordes swept into the Ukraine.

About a week after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler nonaggression pact, Foreign Commissar Molotov wrote in *The Meaning of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact*, Workers' Library Publishers, August 31, 1939, page 3:

"\* \* \* the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression between the U. S. S. R. and Germany is of tremendous positive value, eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the Soviet Union."

Commissar Molotov continued in the same article (page 8) :

"As you see, Stalin hit the nail on the head when he exposed the machinations of the Western Europe politicians who were trying to set Germany and the Soviet Union at loggerheads. It must be confessed that there were some short-sighted people in our own country who, carried away by over-simplified anti-fascist propaganda, forgot about this provocative work of our enemies. Mindful of this, Stalin even then suggested the possibility of other unhostile, good-neighborly relations between Germany and the U. S. S. R. It can now be seen that on the whole Germany correctly understood these statements of Stalin and drew practical conclusions from them. The conclusion of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact shows that *Stalin's historic prevision has been brilliantly confirmed.*" (Committee's italics.)

In *Molotov's report to the Supreme Soviet, October 31, 1939, Workers' Library Publishers, Inc., page 5*, the foreign commissar further solidified Soviet Russia's new policy toward Germany, in the following language:

"\* \* \* Germany is in a position of a state which is striving for the earliest termination of war and for peace, while Britain and France, which only yesterday were declaiming against aggression, are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. The roles, as you see, are changing."

And further in the same report, page 8, Molotov continues:

"The relations between Germany and the other Western European Bourgeois states have in the past two decades been determined primarily by Germany's efforts to break the fetters of the Versailles Treaty, whose authors were Great Britain and France, with the active collaboration of the United States. This, in the long run, led to the present war in Europe \* \* \*. The relations between the Soviet Union and Germany have been based on a different foundation, which involved no interest whatever in perpetuating the post-war Versailles system. *We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe.*" (Committee's italics.)

On page 23 of his report to the Supreme Soviet, Foreign Commissar Molotov asks some questions about the United States:

"In any event, our country, as a neutral country, which is not interested in the spread of war, will take every measure to render this war less devastating, to weaken it and hasten its termination in the interests of peace. From this standpoint, the decision of the American Government to lift the embargo on the export of arms to

belligerent countries raises just misgivings. It can scarcely be doubted that the effect of this decision will not be to weaken the war and hasten its termination, but, on the contrary, to intensify, aggravate and protract it. Of course, the decision may insure big profits for American war industries. But, one asks, can this serve as any justification for lifting the embargo on the export of arms from America? Clearly, it can not."

Thus it was, in compliance with Soviet foreign policy, that the Communists in the United States and in California launched a campaign for isolation and nonintervention, joining hands with the America First Committee, The German-American Bund and many other anti-war, isolationist organizations. Harry Bridges' Union, the *Maritime Federation of the Pacific*, originated the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming!" and this defiant expression of nonintervention became the password in every Communist front organization. *Labors' Non-Partisan League* of California circulated thousands of paper book-matches bearing this slogan. It was heard from the rostrum of every Communist front organization, such as the *American Peace Mobilization* and the *American Student Union*.

So that no doubt be left in the minds of anyone, the Committee quotes the above-mentioned V. J. Jerome, the American Communist bellwether of the fellow-traveling cultural clique, in *Social Democracy and the War*. Workers' Library Publishers, Inc., 1940 (pages 45-46):

"Since the warmongering campaign opened, innumerable trade unions and other mass organizations have adopted resolutions against this country's involvement. A. F. of L. and C. I. O. State labor bodies and city councils, national unions and locals, the unemployed, church bodies, and the vital youth movement are saying, with the national convention of the C. I. O.: Labor wants no war or any part of it. \* \* \* The voice of militant labor rings forth in ever-swelling volume in the slogan first sounded by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific: 'The Yanks Are Not Coming!' The Communist Party of the United States declares: ' \* \* \* we Communists will continue the broadest collaboration with all elements in the labor movement to advance the struggle for working class unity by educating, rallying, and unifying the workers against capitalist reaction and exploitation and to keep America out of the imperialistic war'."

In April of 1941 circulars were being generously and copiously circulated throughout California, carrying to the uninformed and the innocent, the Americanized version of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. Pamphlets demanding and proclaiming: "Get Out and Stay Out of the Imperialist War! No Convoys! No A. E. F.! The Yanks Are Not Coming! Friendship With the Soviet Union!" were distributed at the University of California at Berkeley and throughout the United States.

Your committee finds that the Communist Party in California, acting through unions which it dominated and controlled, launched an amazing epidemic of strikes in key defense industries and were successful in many cases in tying up production of armament, die-casting, steel, planes and ships.

Mr. Hugh Ben Inzer, who was president of Local 216 of the United Automobile Workers Union, C. I. O., testified under oath before your committee, October 16, 1941. Mr. Inzer stated that he had been an assemblyman for General Motors in South Gate since November 16, 1936. He stated that he was acquainted with Lew Michener, Wyndham Mortimer, Philip M. (Slim) Connelly and other leaders of the C. I. O. We quote Mr. Inzer's testimony verbatim from Volume IV of the committee's transcript, beginning at page 1215:

"A. (Inzer) When I was elected to the presidency of Local 216, I was asked by the Regional Director to take time off and come down to the Regional Office for a couple of days at the expense of the International. In other words, the International would pay my expenses. So that was around the 8th of May, 1940, and at that time I took this time off and went down and I reached the office about 9.30 in the morning and from that time until noon I was introduced to different people in the CIO Building, who worked in the offices and he stated those were the people I would now have to cooperate with—I was the new president of Local 216, and they were all in the CIO movement. So, then, we proceeded to go out for luncheon.

Q. Now, where are the headquarters you spoke of?

A. (Inzer) That's the Currier Building at Spring and Third, I believe.

Q. In this city?

A. (Inzer) In Los Angeles, yes, sir.

Q. All right, Mr. Inzer.

A. (Inzer) About twelve we went out to lunch and I went out to lunch with Michener and a person known as Slim Connelly.

Q. Now, is that Philip M. Connelly?

A. (Inzer) That's Philip M. Connelly.

Q. What position, if any, did he occupy in the C. I. O?

A. (Inzer) He holds a position as President of State C. I. O.

Q. He is still?

A. (Inzer) Yes, he is—

Q. And—pardon me.

A. (Inzer)—he was also Secretary to the Council here in Los Angeles.

Q. Now, while you were there, did you have a conversation with Mr. Michener and Mr. Connelly relative to the general situation among the automobile workers?

A. (Inzer) I did, yes, sir.

Q. And the Union situation in the vicinity of Los Angeles in that industry?

A. (Inzer) That's right.

Q. And did that conversation occur while you were at lunch?

A. (Inzer) No, after lunch we went into the Regional Office and he said there were some more people coming in and we were going to get together on a program to follow for the next year and it took place after lunch in the Regional Office.

Q. And after you went back to the Currier Building, following your luncheon, did you go upstairs in the building or were you on the ground floor?

A. (Inzer) We went upstairs in the building, I believe the Regional Office at that time was on the fourth floor—I know it was on one of the floors above the first floor.

Q. Yes.

A. (Inzer) So we went up to the Regional Office and went into the Regional Director's Office and we were seated there.

Q. Did some other people come in?

A. (Inzer) Two men came in, other than Connelly, Mortimer and Michener and myself, two other men. One came in and was introduced to me as Mr. Diebel; another man came in and was introduced to me as Mr. Perry.

Q. Now, were you present here when Mr. Diebel testified before this Committee?

A. (Inzer) Yes, sir, I was.

Q. Did you have an opportunity to observe him?

A. (Inzer) No, other than his back walking up and from the witness stand.

Q. Were you able to tell whether or not that is the same Mr. Diebel you met at the Currier Building?

A. (Inzer) I am positive of it.

Q. You are sure it was?

A. (Inzer) I am sure it was.

Q. I hand you a photograph and ask you if that is a photograph of Mr. Diebel? (Handing to witness.)

A. (Inzer) That is.

Q. You recognize him as the same person who was present at the meeting you are now testifying about?

A. (Inzer) Yes, sir.

Q. Are you sure of that?

A. (Inzer) Yes, sir, I am positive.

Q. Who else came in?

A. (Inzer) There was a colored fellow came by the name of Perry. They introduced him as Mr. Perry.

Q. Was that Mr. Pettis Perry?

A. (Inzer) I found out later it was, I found out later it was Pettis Perry.

CHAIRMAN TENNEY: He is a Negro, is he not?

A. (Inzer) He is a Negro, yes, sir.

MR. COMBS: Go ahead.

A. (Inzer) These men came in and sat in. I didn't know who these people were any more than I know the people out in the audience, all I thought was they are some part of the Labor Movement. So Mr. Connelly and Mr. Michener began to tell me that we would have to set up an organization among all the Locals, that is, to have the Presidents of the Locals and the Executive Board of each Local to be ready to cooperate with the Regional Office at any time in case of an emergency, and what I gathered from the conversation of the meeting, the emergency was this: Any time they wanted to call a strike at any plant that has a C. I. O. contract that they could put so much pressure on the management by calling the other plants in Los Angeles out in sympathetic strike with the plant trying to get a contract, by so doing they could force the management of that company to sign the contract that the Union wanted. So they also stated that this man who they introduced as Mr. Diebel had cooperated with them in the past in putting out literature. They went ahead to state they cooperated in literature known as "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and he said also any time we needed any literature printed that this man had a print shop and would be glad to cooperate in putting out any literature that we needed.

Q. That was said in the presence of Mr. Diebel?

A. (Inzer) That was said in the presence of Mr. Diebel and the rest of the men in the meeting.

Q. When that portion of the conversation occurred, Mr. Inzer, were you seated any place in the room?

A. (Inzer) We were seated in the room in chairs (indicating).

Q. Around a table?

A. (Inzer) No, the chairs were just pulled out and seated in the room (indicating).

Q. The conversation was perfectly audible to all persons present?

A. (Inzer) Yes.

Q. All right, go ahead, and give us the substance of what occurred.

A. (Inzer) This statement in regards to putting out the literature and he agreed he would do that. Then they stated Mr. Perry was the head of an organization who could furnish us with men, with a lot of man power, and also furnish us with pickets, men to put out literature and men to do any kind of a job that we needed so long as our men were tied up on the picket line and by so getting that cooperation we would be able to force the management of the plants to sign an agreeable contract with the Union.

Q. Well, now,—

A. (Inzer) Mr. Perry agreed he was at the head of an organization and could supply any amount of men that were needed.

Q. Was that organization identified at that time or subsequently?

A. (Inzer) No, it was not.

Q. All right.

A. (Inzer) No, it was not.

Q. You did not know the organization they were referring to?

A. (Inzer) I did not know the organization, no, sir.

Q. Had you ever seen either Mr. Diebel or Mr. Perry before, to your knowledge?

A. (Inzer) No, sir, I had never seen them before in my life.

Q. All right, go ahead.

A. (Inzer) So after these two points were brought up these men disappeared, they got up and left the room.

Q. Did they leave the room together?

A. (Inzer) No, they didn't.

Q. Who left first?

A. (Inzer) I believe Mr. Diebel, and in five or ten minutes Mr. Perry followed out.

Q. All right.

A. (Inzer) So, then, we continued with our conversation and in the meantime though, I had been used to running into the Communist activities in the C. I. O. before that time, and I could see that this program was leading right up to the same thing, Communist C. I. O. on the Coast. So the next day,—after these fellows left we talked about ten or fifteen minutes, and I went back to my office. The next day I was supposed to go down again but I went back to my own office and called up the Regional Office and told them I was there in case they needed me. Mr. Michener wanted to know what was wrong and I told him I had investigated and found out who these men were and I, as President of Local 216, I would not be connected with the Regional Office, my rank and file would not cooperate,—by the way, our Local consists of 1800.

Q. They didn't approve of it?

A. (Inzer) They don't approve of that influence in the Union.

Q. They are aware the influence is there?

A. (Inzer) Absolutely, yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Inzer, you say you did make an investigation following this meeting which you have testified about?

A. (Inzer) That's right.

Q. Did you find out what organization Mr. Perry spoke of when he mentioned that he had an organization through which he could furnish pickets, and so forth?

A. (Inzer) Yes, I went back to the Union and asked some of my Executive Board if they had heard of these men and they said they had heard of them and they

believed one was on the German-American Bund and the other the Communist Party. I had a friend who was very active in different work in Los Angeles and I knew he was well acquainted or would know of them, so I asked him and he was quite shocked to know that I had been to such a meeting, and he readily told me that this one, Hans Diebel, was at the head or active in the German-American Bund in Los Angeles and he did have a bookstore on 15th Street and also Perry was the head of the Communist Party and he took me down to the places and I looked in and satisfied myself as to who they were,—they were there.

Q. You went to both addresses?

A. (Inzer) I saw both persons.

Q. You conducted an investigation that satisfied you that the statements you had obtained concerning their activities were correct?

A. (Inzer) Absolutely, yes, sir.

Q. What happened to you then in your Local 216?

A. (Inzer) Well, as soon—

Q. Of course, there was the declaration of war between Russia and Germany?

A. (Inzer) That's right. As soon as the Regional Director mentioned or found out I was not going to cooperate with him and the reason he wanted me to cooperate with him was the Communist Party here in Los Angeles controls the C. I. O., and I don't mean partly, I mean they control it, they do what they want to with it. Any time they send a Communist out to my Local to sell the rank and file that all he wants to do is to have them work with him and help put it over, and after I would refuse any issue he'd attack me for not cooperating with the Regional Office and he also brought Mortimer out to do the same thing, and try to poison the minds of the rank and file, who I represented, so they'd not pay any attention to me and be against my act."

The committee has included the above excerpt from the testimony of Hugh Ben Inzer as proof of the collaboration and cooperation of the Communist Party and the German-American Bund with such Communist-dominated union organizations as the C. I. O. under the leadership of Philip M. Connelly and Lew Michener during the fifth period of Communist strategy. The identity and affiliation of Pettis Perry, then the Secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, and Hans Diebel, of the German-American Bund, in the City of Los Angeles, are well known.

#### SIXTH PERIOD (JUNE 22, 1941, TO ?)

The Sixth Period of Communism in the United States began with Hitler's invasion of Soviet Russia. The Communist press in the United States up to this event was still attacking President Roosevelt as a "warmonger" and belaboring the "British Imperialist War." Strikes

all over the country were instituted by Communist dominated unions. With the startling news that the "Fatherland" had been attacked by Hitler's hordes, the strikes stopped in defense and war industries throughout the United States. Peace mobilization fronts and leagues evaporated into thin air. "All Out Aid to Soviet Russia, Great Britain and China" replaced the former slogans of "Stop the British Imperialist War" and "The Yanks Are Not Coming." This latter slogan was soon considerably amended to read "The Yanks Are Not Coming *Too Late*." President Roosevelt became an overnight hero instead of being a "warmonger." Every Communist in California and throughout the United States became a chauvinistic patriot and "Unity Leagues" of this and that for "Victory" mushroomed throughout California and the United States. Although the anti-religious campaign of Soviet Russia was flourishing up to the violation of the Soviet-Nazi Pact and Soviet Russia's *League of the Militant Godless* was still vigorously functioning, the Communist Party of America began, in this period, to extol the religious tolerance of Communism. The American Communists were ordered to emphasize the "democracy" of Soviet Russia and its fervent championship of civil liberty.

Dictator Stalin's "historic prevision," as Foreign Commissar Molotov had hailed it, was thrown in the ash can as Hitler's panzer divisions went crashing over the Soviet frontiers and the non-aggression pact simultaneously. New slogans and proclamations appeared on the familiar mimeographed circulars and pamphlets of the Communist Party pamphleteers as soon as the comrades had caught their breath and determined the new foreign policy of the "Fatherland." On September 16, 1941, another circular appeared at the University of California at Berkeley, this time urging the students to: "Unite the campus to defeat Hitler and Hitlerism! Defend America by full and immediate aid to Great Britain and the Soviet Union! Aid China! Embargo Japan! Make the campus a fortress of Democracy! For unity and victory—Join the American Student Union!"

Your committee here wishes to point out that on June 22, 1941, it was Russia, and *NOT* the United States that was invaded by Germany. The news of this event, however, was attended with repercussions in the United States and in California which were immediate and profound. A strange and significant quiet prevailed over America's labor front. Overnight the *Imperialist War* of June 21, 1941, was changed by some strange, international magic, into a *people's war* which involved the Soviet Union. The American Communists would now take all the Yanks they could get. American Communists were now declaring that "Now \* \* \* this is *OUR* war \* \* \*," as did Rose Segure and other California Communists and fellow travelers. Foreign Commissar Molotov now ordained that it would be all right for America to lift the embargo on arms to belligerents; particularly to the Soviet Union and Britain.

Your committee wishes to emphasize the significant lesson to be learned from this period of Communist strategy. Americans everywhere should concern themselves seriously with the changes which came to California and the United States; changes which effected the release of defense industries from the strangle hold of Communist dominated unions, the sudden change in propagandizing in our State educational

institutions. It should carefully be noted by all students of these matters that these changes were caused, not by anything happening directly in or to the United States. Again they turned on the *need* and *foreign policy* of a foreign government thousands of miles away. Your committee wishes to emphasize the fact that there exists in the State of California an organized group of subversive individuals, completely dominated by a foreign power, which has sufficient influence in our American Labor movement to launch a strike epidemic in our defense or war industries when the purpose suits the foreign power, and to turn it off again like water from a tap when the foreign policy of the dominating foreign power commands. While the needs of the foreign power dominating this group in California and the United States may correspond presently with our own needs, it may well be, in the future, that the needs of the dominating force exerted on these American subversives may be detrimental in the extreme to our own needs and purposes. Your committee believes that it is high time for the people of this State thoroughly and completely to understand and realize that the members of the Communist Party are organized into an iron disciplined group and controlled, unquestionably, by a foreign power, Soviet Russia. These people should be regarded for what they actually are—agents of a foreign power, and should not be, in any way, looked upon as super-patriots and saviors of the working class of America and California, as they would like to lead us to believe.

The official mass murders of Soviet Russia's Fifth Period, together with its amazing trials in which every defendant attempted to out-confess the other; literally bubbling over with the admission of treasonable crimes against the Soviet Government, fantastically, eagerly and enthusiastically inviting the death penalty are now being sold to the American people by the Communists as far-visioned statesmanship on the part of Dictator Stalin. Ambassador Joseph E. Davies' book, *Mission to Moscow*, is now pounced on by the Communists of America as corroborating evidence of the statesmanship of Joseph Stalin in defending the "democracy" of Soviet Russia and the United Nations. This phase of Ambassador Davies' book, *Mission to Moscow*, should be read in conjunction with the report on the trials by Dr. John Dewey, *Men and Politics* by Louis Fisher and writers who were in actual attendance at the trials in Russia and who possessed a knowledge of Communist ideology and tactics.

Hewlett Johnson, the aged Dean of Canterbury, has written a book, *Soviet Power*, and this volume is now being given widespread circulation by the Communist Party of America. Eugene Lyons, who spent considerable time in Soviet Russia, calls this book of the Dean of Canterbury "a topsy-turvy book \* \* \* an Alice-in-Wonderland volume that can only be catalogued as literature of hallucination \* \* \*."

The members of your committee realized on the morning of June 23, 1941 that an era of Communist strategy had come to an end in California and in the United States. The committee had been preparing a series of hearings connected with the strikes at the North American Aircraft Company in Inglewood. This plant had been closed June 6, 1941 by the C. I. O. but had been reopened several weeks later by the United States Army acting under the direction of

the President of the United States. While the committee did not have an opportunity fully to investigate this strike it learned that its leaders in the C. I. O. were the same old Communist and fellow-traveling crowd. Wyndham Mortimer—whose Communist Party name was Baker—Lew Michener, Elmer Freitag—who was registered as a Communist in 1938—and lesser lights such as Jeff Kibre and Don Healy, were the Stalinist leaders of this piece of defense sabotage in America. It was all over, of course, when Hitler's panzer divisions drove into Russia June 22, 1941. Your committee knew that the Communist Party of the United States would receive new instructions; that the revolutionary character of the Communist Party of America would be disguised; that the communists of California would, as long as it assisted Soviet Russia, be the most enthusiastic patriots for the defeat of Hitler and the enemies of the Red Fatherland. What love of the United States, its Constitution, Flag, traditions and way of life could not accomplish in its appeal to men like Wyndham Mortimer and Lew Michener, invasion of a foreign totalitarian dictatorship accomplished overnight. The people of California and the United States should never forget that the defense efforts of our great Nation would have been ruthlessly sabotaged by what purported to be an American labor movement—the C. I. O.—had it not been for the *need* of a foreign dictatorship thousands of miles away.

Your committee reports, therefore, that, in this, the Sixth Period of Communist development and strategy in California and the United States, the war efforts of our State and Nation are presently safe from Communist interference and sabotage. Every real Communist in the United States will sacrifice, fight, and die if need be, just so long as the sacrificing, fighting and dying assists the Red Fatherland—Soviet Russia. Meanwhile, Americans should make no mistake about the true situation. The Communist Party of the United States of America is *NOT* willing to sacrifice, to fight or to die, to preserve American Democracy, its Constitution, its Flag, its tradition, or its way of life. The long range objective has not changed and *will not change*. The revolutionary spirit is temporarily on ice and the Seventh Period of Communist development in this country may see it in all its grim horror if the *needs, ambitions and foreign policy* of Soviet Russia so ordain.

Those who have read thus far are well capable of drawing their own conclusions. Your committee's investigators already report plans of the Communist Party in California for the formation of soldiers' and sailors' councils in the Army and the Navy, patterned after similar councils set up in the armies and navies of the Czar and the Kerensky government in Russia in 1917. Reports reaching your committee from closed meetings of Communist groups throughout California tell of plans for soviet governments throughout Europe upon the collapse of Hitlerism and the weakening of the Nazi-yoke. While it is not the province of your committee to prognosticate the future, the committee, must, nevertheless, state to you with all the emphasis at its command that this, the Sixth Period of Communist development and strategy, is not the last period. The committee warns the people of California and of the United States that there WILL BE a Seventh Period of Communist strategy in America. Only the vigilance of the American people and the devotion to the Constitution and traditions of the

United States on the part of public officials can successfully block the Seventh Period of Communism from being the *last* period of the American way of life.

Totalitarian rattlesnakes apparently find satisfaction in warning their prospective victims before striking. The democracies of the world can not complain that Hitler had not warned them of his world aggression ambitions in the pages of *Mein Kampf*. The purpose of the Third International, from the beginning and throughout its history, has been boldly stated as world domination and the destruction of all existing forms of government. Even the Japanese Imperialists, while not quite so blatant and open in their avowed objectives, have indicated the course that they would pursue at the proper moment. Similarly the Comintern today indicates the course of its next period of strategy. Manchester Boddy, writing in his column *Views of the News*, in the *Los Angeles Daily News* for Wednesday, February 24, 1943 brilliantly records an historical moment that may cast a dark and sinister shadow in the Seventh Communist era that is to come:

*"Views of the News"*

"*'Russia stands alone,'* says Mr. Boddy.

"That is what Stalin said to his people.

"His speech delivered yesterday on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Red Army is perfectly clear. *Russia stands alone. Russia is fighting for one and only one purpose: to defend the homeland.*

"Nowhere in his long address does Stalin even acknowledge any help of any kind given Russia.

"Nowhere does he allude, by word or implication, to any sharing of the ideals we claim to be fighting for.

"There is no hint with respect to the 'Four Freedoms,' nor even the slightest hope for a world at peace.

"He does point out that there is no second front in Europe. But he implies no obligation on the part of his allies to create such a front. Nowhere does he state *why* a second front should be established.

"Stalin hammers again and again and again *on one point only: Russia fights on Russian soil. Russia fights to drive out the invader. The Russian Army will liberate Russian land from the hated enemy.*

"Beyond that—nothing. Stalin's speech is, however, consistent with the few but cogent statements he has made since the beginning of this war. Always the safety and security of Russia have been Stalin's sole concern.

"Back in 1939, he said:

"\* \* \* If we accept the Reich's offer of collaboration, the latter will not hesitate to crush Poland; England and France will thereupon be drawn fatally into war. There will result a thorough destruction of western Europe, and remaining outside the conflict we can advantageously await our hour. If Germany wins, she will emerge from the war too exhausted to dream of an armed conflict against us. We must accept the pact proposed

by Germany and work to prolong the war the maximum possible \* \* \*.

"But the war didn't work out this way, and in June, 1941 Joseph Stalin announced:

"In June 1931, Hitlerite Germany perfidiously attacked our country, rudely and foully violating the non-aggression agreement, and the Red Army found itself compelled to launch a campaign *to defend its native land against the German invader and to drive him from the borders of our country.*'

"Nothing could be clearer.

"Russia intended, just as official Pravda had previously explained, to sit tight while all Europe was being overrun. Only when Hitler actually invaded Russian soil did the Red Army 'find itself compelled to launch a campaign to defend its native land against the German invader and to drive him from the borders of Russia.'

"Joseph Stalin devoted yesterday's speech to a reiteration of that single theme. He comes back to it again and again.

"Russia battles 'against the invasion of the German Fascist hordes.'

"The beginning of the massed drive of the enemy from Soviet lands has begun."

"It should not be considered an accident that the command of the Red Army is not only liberating Soviet soil from the enemy, but it is also not allowing the enemy to leave our soil alive by carrying out operations to surround and wipe out the enemy. \* \* \*,

"Stalin merely mentions the absence of a second front. He does not chide his allies for their failure.

"The Red Army struggles *against the invasion of the German Fascist hordes.* Does Stalin hint that Russia is fighting against 'militarism' or dictatorship or on behalf of the 'four freedoms'? Not at all. Russia is fighting invaders. Nothing more. Nothing less.

"Stalin points out that the Red Army is bearing the whole weight of the war. Not half—not three-quarters—not 99 per cent. The *whole* weight. And how about the food and the machines and the munitions we have been sending to Russia? How about the men who have died in the icy waters of the North Sea while battling to get through to Murmansk? Are they no part of the weight of the war? No. Not from Stalin's viewpoint. We are not fighting for Russia. Russia is not fighting for us. *Russia stands alone bearing the whole weight of the war, to drive the enemy out of Russia!*

"The Red Army,' Stalin says, 'has only to pursue it (the German Army) to the western frontiers of our country. It would be stupid to suppose the Germans will give up even one kilometer of our land without a struggle!'

"His order of the day is even more specific. His army will continue to fight 'for the sake of liberation of our country from the hated enemy, for the sake of final victory over the German Fascist invaders. \* \* \*'

"The theme and all its variations are clear and consistent:

*"Russia fights for the right to be let alone.*

"Russia did not enter the war—as a defense measure—when the Germans overran France and the low countries; nor when Great Britain stood alone with only a thin strip of water between her and total destruction. She entered the war only when Russian soil was invaded!

"Obviously we are disappointed in the Stalin speech. We know there are perfectly good reasons why American soldiers should invade Europe. We feel certain that Stalin, too, knows and understands those reasons. But our men are fighting many thousands of miles from home, while the Russian men are fighting to recover their homes from an invader.

"We can not talk to our armies about driving the enemy off our own soil as Joseph Stalin talks to his armies. So we must substitute other reasons: a United Nations cause, for example; a future world free from war and fear of war. Above all else we must talk about a common front between Russia, China, the United States and Great Britain. We had hoped Stalin might have had one little word for these ideals, and a nod of recognition to our soldiers who are fighting so far from home. Not because the enemy has invaded their homeland, but for an ideal.

"We must say, however, that Joseph Stalin talks straight from the shoulder and says what he means. For a leader reputed to be adept at propaganda he has proved himself to be exactly the opposite.

"What he says, boiled down to a few words, is that if he were an American he would stay in America. His speech will be exultantly accepted and used by our isolationists.

"It will make the Allied effort all the more difficult."

The *Los Angeles Examiner* for March 9, 1943, carries a news item by the *International News Service* under date of March 8, 1943, headlined, "U. S. Envoy Charges: 'Stalin Suppresses Facts on U. S. Aid'. Unlike former American Ambassador Davies, Ambassador Admiral William H. Standley looks beneath Soviet window-dressing. The news item is as follows:

"Moscow, March 8—(INS)—American Ambassador Admiral William H. Standley declared tonight he saw no evidence of official Soviet recognition of the aid Russia is receiving from the United States and indicated this silence might have an unfavorable effect on Congress.

"Inferentially urging that Russia acknowledge to her own people and the world the assistance extended to her from America, the 71-year-old ambassador made his blunt remarks to correspondents in Moscow even as renewal of the lease-lend program was up for consideration in Washington.

#### **"Long Way to Enactment"**

"Pointing out that it is 'a long way from the foreign affairs committee to enactment' of the Lease-lend bill by Congress, Admiral Standley said:

'The United States Congress is rather sensitive. It is generous and big-hearted as long as it feels it is helping someone, but give it the idea that it is not helping and it might be a different story.'

"The white-haired ambassador, who returned to his post from Washington early in the year and who is scheduled to confer with Premier Josef Stalin shortly, asserted frankly that the Soviet Government seems to be keeping the Russian people in the dark concerning the aid . . . ."

An editorial from the *Los Angeles Examiner* for March 10, 1943, also indicates things to come in the Seventh period of Communist strategy:

#### **"Stalin's Monstrous Double-Dealing Revealed"**

"The almost incredible story of the execution of Victor Alter and Hendryk Erlich, two Jewish Polish Socialist leaders in December, 1941, by the Russians, does not augur well for the 'Four Freedoms' and the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which Joseph Stalin has given some lip-service.

"Although Alter and Erlich were, as Polish labor leaders, the foes of Naziism they were arrested nearly four years ago as 'Socialists' while Germany and Russia had a 10-year non-aggression pact in force and when Stalin had taken nearly half of Poland as his 'divvy' on the murder of Europe, which Hitler was systematically engaged in.

"Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Ambassador in the United States, has officially informed William Green, President of the A. F. of L., that Erlich and Alter were executed in December, 1941, on Soviet soil.

"They were executed, said the Ambassador, because they had urged the Reds to make a separate peace with Germany.

"As these men were Poles, Jews and anti-Nazis, of course, this statement must be taken as one of those 'save-face' excuses in which Russia's ally, Japan, is so expert.

"The worst of the matter is that for four years American labor unions have been sending presents to these dead men and Messrs. Murray and Green of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L., have been cabling pleas to the Kremlin for

their release—not knowing that the *men had been dead for a year.*

"This cowardly double-dealing on the part of one of our military allies is nothing short of monstrous.

"We are sending billions in money and material to Russia to aid her in her fight to get the Germans out of Russia while she has been making a perfect fool out of our labor leaders and out of the Jewish people, who were naturally interested in the fate of their fellow-religionists.

"The question of American and Russian postwar relations looms larger every day.

"The secret execution of Erlich and Alter and the duplicity and dishonesty in the matter of their deaths do not promise well for the future."

## 7

### COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA

Your committee has been exceedingly careful in its selection of witnesses on the subject of Communism. During the two-year period of the committee's investigation, it has refrained from making accusations against anyone appearing before the committee and has been content to let the testimony of the witnesses speak for itself.

The Communist Party, by tactics formulated and cleverly carried into operation by the so-called "Antiseptic Squads," attempts to discredit in every possible manner the testimony of any person who testifies concerning the intrigue and criminal machinations of the party. The mildest criticism of Communism on the part of *anyone*, is immediately hailed as "red-baiting" and the critics are immediately labeled "Social Fascists," "red-baiters," and agents of exploiting capitalism, Hearst and Hitler. The *Antiseptic Squads* of American Communism reserve their most vicious and bitter denunciation for ex-Communists who find the courage publicly to expose Communist Party objectives, activities and tactics. The Communist grapevine and its blatant press immediately proclaim such individuals as "stool pigeons," "informers," "degenerates" and "pathological liars." All faithful Communist and fellow-traveling witnesses are heralded as "progressives" and "liberals" and the personification of veracity. A slight scanning of the pages of the committee's volumes of transcripts of the testimony of Communist Party functionaries reveals amazing lapses of memory on the part of such witnesses as to membership in the Communist Party and of events in connection with Communist Party activity that would be readily and easily remembered by an ordinarily truthful witness. There is hardly an instance in the testimony of self-admitted Communist members where they remember the identification of the person to whom they paid dues. Rare, indeed, is the testimony of a Communist member in which he clearly remembers the identity of those in attendance at important Communist meetings or functions. In cases where the person to be identified is a well-known Communist, and admittedly so, the Communist witness has little difficulty in remembering.

Your committee wishes to emphasize, in this connection, that the laws and ethics of capitalist society are not, in the least, held to be binding on members of the Communist Party. It likewise should be remembered that the Communist is not burdened with any sense of religion and suffers no compunction of conscience when falsely testifying under oath. To the iron disciplined, class-conscious Communist, "oaths" and "conscience" are superstitious capitalist fictions invented by capitalist exploiters for the purpose of oppressing and dominating the working class. Thus it is, that Communist witnesses will blandly deny ever having heard of the Communist movement, though it may well be (as has happened in several cases) that the committee is in possession of the Communist Party book or a photostat thereof, of the witness who sits before it brazenly prevaricating.

Illustrating the ease with which Communist Party members handle the truth is the case of Lee Gregovich testifying before the committee in San Diego, February 20, 1942 (Volume VIII, pages 2305-2319). Mr. Gregovich stated that he had never been affiliated with the *Young Communist League* or the Communist Party although he admitted knowing Stanley Hancock, Esco Richardson, Dan Taylor, La Verne Lym and Bert Leech as Communists. Your committee has in its files a photostatic copy taken from the office of the Secretary of State, bearing the name of Lee Gregovich sponsoring Nathaniel Griffin for the Communist Party nomination to the office of Assembly in the Seventy-eighth Assembly District in San Diego County. Also illustrative of the insidious tactics of these lying agents of the Comintern is the testimony of Lee Gregovich in attempting to smear a member of the Legislature from San Diego County by placing him, in his testimony, in suspected Communist meetings.

Every "iron disciplined" and thoroughly indoctrinated Communist is convinced that he is a soldier in a bitter and unrelenting war. He is thoroughly fired with fanatical hate of capitalism and capitalistic government and he believes that he is one of the heroes in the vanguard of the assault on the enemies of the "workers," one of the generals in the *class war*. Military objectives include industries employing wage labor, educational institutions, churches and all functions of government, municipal, State and National. One of the chief military objectives of the Communist Party is *Democracy—all Democracies*, because its members war against the state in *any form*. They have been taught that *all states* are merely instruments of capitalism and exploitation, and, therefore, a *Democracy* is just another *form* of the state.

Because he believes himself living in a state of war, the Communist has discarded all of the ways of peace. Each Communist in the United States and in California considers himself a spy in a hostile country, waging a desperate warfare with his bare hands, his wits—a spy in the land of the enemy—a secret agent living in constant jeopardy of his life. He considers himself in continual combat, surrounded by ruthless enemies who, if they could, would eliminate him. It is the duty of a soldier to kill his country's enemies, and if a Communist kills the enemies of Communism, he becomes one of the heroes in the vanguard of the proletariat. Among themselves they proudly admit that they lie—that they commit perjury—glorious deeds on the pages of the history of the *class war*. *Do capitalist presidents, premiers and diplomats hesi-*

*tate to lie and to commit perjury in the furtherance of their country's cause?* Of course not! Then, reasons the Communist, why should a soldier or a spy in the vanguard of the proletariat hesitate to do that which furthers *his* fanatical cause? Any good spy or secret agent caught in the toils of enemy courts or enemy investigating bodies would not be worth his salt if he hesitated to lie thereby to fool the enemy. Every Communist in a capitalist nation must protect the Red Fatherland—must protect his fellow conspirators and comrades; hide their identities, activities and objectives, at all cost to himself. Your committee is convinced that they believe their actions and conduct in this connection proper and completely orthodox. This fanatical belief of being a soldier and a spy *in an alien and hostile land* must be understood in evaluating and weighing the sworn testimony of known Communists and fellow travelers.

The witnesses subpoenaed to testify in public hearings before your committee on the subject of Communism in California may roughly be divided into two classes, hostile and friendly witnesses. Your committee does not wish to intimate that this classification is necessarily significant or that the hostile witnesses were, in fact, members of the Communist Party. It is merely a fact that they were unfriendly and in many cases defiant and impudent. The hostile witnesses on this subject, examined by your committee, are as follows:

Samuel Albert,  
 Mischa Altman,  
 Otto W. Benziger,  
 George E. Bodle,  
 Reuben W. Borough,  
 Louise Bransten,  
 Carl Brant,  
 Wilmer Breedon,  
 Archie Brown,  
 James H. Burford,  
 Manuel Cabral,  
 Philip Connelly,  
 Frances Decker,  
 Judy Dunks,  
 Julius Furman,  
 Maxine Furman,  
 Oscar Fuss,  
 Philip Gardner,  
 Kate Crane Gartz,  
 B. S. Gorin,  
 Jack Greenberg,  
 Lee Gregovich,  
 Aubrey Grossman,  
 Carroll E. Hunnwell,  
 Frieda Jasmagy,  
 John A. Jones,

Frederick Langton,  
 Bert Leech,  
 Frances Lym,  
 La Rue McCormick,  
 Lucile McNeil,  
 Frances Moore,  
 Jack Moore,  
 June Orr,  
 Pearl Ossman,  
 Pettis Perry,  
 Max Radin,  
 Mervyn Rathborne,  
 Dorothy Ray,  
 William Schneiderman,  
 Laurance B. Smith,  
 Herbert K. Sorrell,  
 John F. St. Cyr,  
 Vaughn A. K. Tashjian,  
 James Toback,  
 Clarence Vernon  
 Wahlenmaier,  
 Robert E. Warren  
 John M. Weatherwax,  
 Helen Wheeler,  
 A. L. Wirin,  
 B. Joseph Zukas.

Of the above group, Archie Brown, Philip Gardner, Bert Leech, Mrs. La Verne (Frances) Lym, Jack Moore, Pettis Perry, William Schneiderman, Dorothy Ray and Dr. Vaughn A. K. Tashjian all

admitted joining the Communist Party. To this list should be added the name of B. Joseph Zukas, who, though he denied ever being a member of the Communist Party, was proved by documentary evidence to be a member. In this category, also, should be placed the name of James H. Burford, who undoubtedly lied many times under the questioning of the committee.

Friendly witnesses testifying concerning Communist activities in California are as follows:

Charles G. Bakesy,	Hugh Ben Inzer,
Aubrey Blair,	Thomas Kirk,
J. Frank Burke,	Floyd Matthews,
J. W. Buzzell,	Don Morton,
Oliver Carlson,	John Mustak,
Tom Cavett,	Mrs. Edward Suchman,
Matthew G. Guidera,	J. W. Thornton,
Gene Hagberg,	Rena M. Vale,
Bert Hanman,	George Wallace,
Edward Heim,	Earl Warren,
L. C. Helm,	A. H. Webber,
John G. Honeycombe,	Esther A. McCarthy,
Miles G. Humphrey,	

Of this group Bert Hanman admitted having joined the Communist Party and having later joined the Trotskyites. His testimony is illuminating and informative on this internal fight between the Stalinist group of Communists and the Trotskyite group. Thomas Kirk, Don Morton, John G. Honeycombe and Rena M. Vale were all former members of the Communist Party.

Charles G. Bakesy had done considerable investigating as an undercover operator among the Communists in California and made a considerable amount of information available to the committee.

Aubrey Blair, J. W. Buzzell, Edward Heim and L. C. Helm are all A. F. of L. officials who have had a long experience fighting Communist infiltration into the *American Federation of Labor*.

J. Frank Burke is the owner and operator of Radio Stations KFVD and KPAS in Los Angeles County, a news-analyst and commentator noted for his American progressiveness, tolerance and liberalism. He testified concerning certain programs released over his radio station KFVD conducted by Ed Robbin of the *People's Daily World*. (Volume I, pp. 267-272.) It has been Mr. Burke's policy to make his radio stations available to everyone, believing thoroughly in the right of free speech and the right of individuals and groups to enjoy channels of public expression. He stated that Ed Robbin had begun to broadcast some time in 1938 and that the broadcasts were partly paid for by a tire company located at Twelfth and Main Streets in Los Angeles. When Hitler and Stalin joined hands in 1939 Burke noticed that Robbin followed along with the current Communist Party "line" and Burke stated that he came to the conclusion that he was not expressing his own opinions but merely echoing things he was ordered to say. It was no longer a matter of free speech. When Robbin defended Russia's invasion of Poland, Mr. Burke ordered him off of his station.

Oliver Carlson testified as an expert on Communist strategy, Communist history, activities and theory, and practical objectives. Mr. Carlson is a writer and a research associate of the University of Chicago in the Department of Political Science. He has traveled extensively in Europe. He translated a book from German into English by Chicherin, Foreign Minister for the Soviet Government. He studied at the University of Berlin and attended the London School of Economics. Mr. Carlson traced the history of the Communist International and explained its methods and ideology in detail to your committee. He outlined disciplinary methods and techniques of the Communist International. He elaborated on the Communist preparations to seize state power in all countries. He emphasized the intolerance of the Communist Party and its *il-liberality* and *non-progressiveness*, contrary to self-proclaimed and advertised virtues. He outlined the similarity between Nazism and Communism. He described the various so-called "Internationals" set up by the Communists for subtle indoctrination purposes, which included even an international philatelic society. He told the committee of the schisms within the Communist Party itself; of the Lovestoneites and the Trotskyites. He elaborated on the so-called Communist "party line" and explained the causes and reasons for its changes. He testified of seeing the marriage bureaus and divorce bureaus maintained by the Soviet Government in Russia. He told the committee that over the door of the marriage bureau was the slogan, taken from the Communist *Manifesto*: "Workers of the World Unite." The slogan over the divorce bureau, also taken from the Communist *Manifesto*, was: "You Have Nothing to Lose but Your Chains."

Many persons were called throughout the State to testify generally on Communist Party activities in California and the committee's transcript of testimony presents a rounded picture of the insidious machinations and plottings of this underground group of conspirators. The committee's hearing briefs were designed in each case to draw out at least a fragment of the truth from each witness and, by planning the entire investigation to cover the State from San Diego to San Francisco, the pieces began to fit, and the jigsaw puzzle thus began to take shape and form. The general, overall scope of Communist activities in California is easily discernible through the mental fencing of many of these witnesses. For the greater part, this group represents the rank and file of Communist Party members and fellow travelers.

Mr. Carroll E. Hunnwell represents one of the missing pieces. He testified before your committee in San Diego. (Volume VIII, pp. 2449-2464.) He stated that he was a member of Post No. 6 of the *American Legion*. He is acquainted with Stanley Hancock, Vernon Wahlenmaier, La Verne Lym, Bert Leech and Bessie Keckler. He attended a number of functions for a drive to raise money for the Communist paper, the *People's Daily World*. He denied ever having affiliated with the Communist Party, but admitted that he had been approached twice, "maybe," with the proposition of joining. He does not think that the Communist Party is un-American. He stated that he felt that "we should have a change in system" and that "the main thing is to get something for the working class." In this connection, the witness testified that this would be "pretty hard to do" with the

ballot. He concluded his testimony by suggesting that the need for the Communist Party would disappear if the capitalist forces would give up.

Mr. John A. Jones represents another fragment. He testified that he became a member of the Communist Party in 1935 or 1936 but that he severed connections with it in about 1941. (Volume VIII, pp. 2421-2432.) He knew Stanley Hancock, the Communist Party organizer for San Diego County, Sol and Hermine Hilkowitz, Carroll Hunnwell and Clara Stevenson. He admitted having attended the Lenin Memorial Dinner in January, 1942, held either in the U. S. Grant Hotel or Fraternal Hall in San Diego. One of his reasons for leaving the party was that the work was too strenuous. He has continued to attend meetings of the party since his alleged severing of connections. Although he surrendered his party book he could not remember the identity of the person to whom he gave it.

J. W. Thornton came into the Communist Party through the *Industrial Workers of the World* (I.W.W.). He testified that he joined this organization in 1913. (Volume I, pp. 131-145.) He joined the Socialist Party in 1914 and remained a member until about 1921. In 1919 the I.W.W. sent delegates to a conference of the *Third International* of the Communist Party which was being held in Moscow. The result of the conference brought about the merging of the I.W.W. in the United States with the new *Comintern* organization, the *Red Trade Union International*. Thornton joined the Communist Party in Portland in 1921 and dropped out of its activities in 1924. In 1930 he again became active in the Communist Party and participated in the formation of *unemployed councils*. He cooperated with Communist Party fractions and groups in various activities, particularly in fund-raising campaigns for the *Tom Mooney Defense Committee*. In 1932 he met Sam Darcy and Elmer Hanoff and participated in the Communist Party meeting in Sacramento on the occasion of a plea to Governor Rolph for the unemployed through the *Cooperative Relief Association*. In 1933 Thornton was expelled from the Communist Party for collaboration with the Socialists.

Gene Hagberg, of Los Angeles, testified concerning both Nazi and Communist activities in Los Angeles County. He told your committee of beach parties in Santa Monica where white girls were used as lures in recruiting Negroes into the Communist Party. He told of the "prostitution squad" of Communist Party girls who acted as lures in this endeavor. He testified as to the method used by the *Young Communist League* in luring Filipinos into the Communist Party by the use of marijuana. He testified as to the activities of the Communists among the Japanese and of the Japanese Communist section known as the *Doho Jin Sha* and of a meeting held by this group May 23, 1941, in Los Angeles at which Ed Robbin, Communist radio commentator for the *People's Daily World*, was reported to have collected over \$1,000. He stated that Ed Robbin had donated \$25 to *Doho*, the Japanese-Communist newspaper in Los Angeles. Mr. Hagberg stated that the *Doho Jin Sha* group worked with the German-American Bund during the collaboration of Stalin and Hitler.

Mr. Thomas Kirk, a former member of the Communist Party, testified before your committee at its Los Angeles hearing, August 1, 1941.

(Volume II, pp. 560-589, 590-591.) He told the committee that he was an organizer for the *Friends of the Soviet Union* in 1930, and became interested in the Communist Party through the *American Civil Liberties Union*. He was active in the International Labor Defense and told your committee of their meetings. He outlined the activities of the Communist Party in the cotton strike at Pixley in 1933, of the activities of the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League*, the *League Against War and Fascism* and the *Pen and Hammer Club*. He traced the activities of the Communist Party in the *Relief Workers' Protective Union* and other Communist front organizations such as the *Unemployed Councils*, the *Workers' Alliance*, *Labor's Non-Partisan League* and others.

## 8

## ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION

The technique, the organization and the operation of the Communist Party in California and in the United States should be known to every American. Far too few of our loyal Americans realize the intricate and efficient organization of this subversive group. The success of the Communist Party in certain trade unions and other mass movements is directly attributable to the ignorance of responsible labor leaders and the rank-and-file of both labor and other mass movements of Communist organization, operation and tactics.

Your committee has studied the manuals of the Communist Party and its textbooks, minutely cross-examined paid Communist functionaries and through investigators working both inside the Communist Party and in many of its front organizations have been able to ferret out much of its intricate organization and operation.

The Communist Party itself has divided the United States into some 30 districts. California is designated in this division as District XIII. Each district is divided into some 250 sections and these sections are again divided into what they term shop, town, street, farm units and, in California, in and during periods of open development, into Congressional and Assembly districts. Each unit or division is known as a unit bureau and is governed by a committee under which it operates and organizes. Smaller subdivisions of the lesser units are called "fractions" and "cells." Fractions and cells are immediately created in trade unions and other mass organizations wherever three or more Communist members find themselves.

Communist fractions or cells are continually subdivided as recruits are added to each cell or fraction. It is seldom that a fraction or cell contains more than eight members. By this method the Communist Party is enabled to spread its network of propaganda and influence in factories, mines, on ships, in shops, and other mass organizations. It is mandatory on Communist Party members to join the union in the place where they work and cells and fractions must be organized immediately.

The Communist Party Manual provides that "Every party member \* \* \* must be a real organizer of mass struggles." This same manual provides that the "task" of each fraction, cell or shop unit is "to establish strong connections with all the workers in the factories" in order that these workers be mobilized for "quick action when the need arises." Every Communist member is mandated to prevent

exposure of comrades in their *illegal* work. For this purpose special groups of Communists are trained. A group of this type is known to the comrades themselves as the "Antiseptic Squad." The work of the Antiseptic Squad is to defend Communists and Communism. One of its most important jobs in recent years is the smearing and discrediting of such committees as the Dies Committee and your Committee Investigating Un-American Activities in the United States and California.

Don Morton, former Communist member, testified that during his membership in the party he had charge of the *League Against Yellow Journalism*. (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794.) This activity of the Antiseptic Squad was particularly organized to propagandize against anti-Communist papers and magazines and, according to Mr. Morton, was particularly anti-Hearst because the Hearst papers were most consistent in their editorial attacks against Communism. Mr. Morton testified that part of his duty was contributing approximately 500 cards a week urging the people not to read the Hearst papers and that through his supervision some ten to twelve thousand cards were distributed between April and September of 1936.

Street fractions or cells are mandated to assist shop units in strikes, picketing, street demonstrations and in the collection of strike relief. To these fractions and cells is given the task of organizing people in the neighborhood for the purpose of carrying on "mass work (street meetings, house to house canvassing, etc.), and to win election votes for the Communist Party." (Communist Party Manual, pages 49, 65 and 66.)

The Communist Party Manual, on page 25, states:

"\* \* \* one of the organizations of the Communist Party is suitable for *legal* existence \* \* \* and the other for \* \* \* underground, *illegal* existence."

The manual mandates that Communist Party members organize and lead the other workers in order to safeguard the organization and prevent its members from being discharged in any shop or factory where they are caught agitating or propagandizing. It demands that party members "must submit to the *iron discipline* of the party." The manual commands that the Communist Party be "rooted in the factories, mines, ships, docks, offices, et cetera," and demands that its organization in these places be such that it will "best safeguard the party members and other militant workers from bosses, stool-pigeons and thugs." Shop units or cells are ordered to secure jobs for party members and the manual commands that all Communists work together in "a conspirative manner" to organize and lead the workers.

The above briefly outlines the underground, secret and conspiratorial organization and operation of the Communist Party in the United States and California. In addition to this organizational set-up, which is particularly designed for the *illegal* work of the party, there has existed for many years *The Young Pioneers*, the *Young Communist League*, and the Communist Party itself, which may be either open or secretive.

*The Young Pioneers* is a Communist youth organization for girls and boys of grade-school age. It is built along the same lines as the Boy Scout movement, but dedicated, instead, to hatred of American institutions and the American Flag. *The Young Spark* is one of the publications for the Communist *Young Pioneers*. We quote from one of its issues: "The Young Pioneers of America is a workers' children's organization, and the Red Flag is their Flag. \* \* \* We Pioneers are proud to stand by the Red Flag."

The following is an excerpt from *Who are the Young Pioneers?*, a Communist publication (pages 26 and 27) :

"Then why do we say the workers' children should join the Pioneers or the Nature Friend Scouts or the I. W. O. Juniors instead of the Boy Scouts? For this reason: You can use all knowledge either for the working class and against the boss class, or for the boss class and against the working class. And the Boy Scouts teach you to use your knowledge for the boss class. They teach you to be 'patriotic.'

"And what does the 'patriotism' of the Boy Scouts and the bosses mean? It means that when the bosses of this country want markets for their goods and decide to go to war to get the markets from other countries, YOU should put on a uniform and go to war for those bosses and their profits. \* \* \*

"The 'patriotism' of the Boy Scouts and the bosses means defending the government and the property of rich and corrupt millionaires and their politicians and preventing the workers from getting a living from their labor by fighting against strikers and the unemployed who demonstrate for relief."

We quote a poem from the April, 1935, issue of the *New Pioneer*, one of the publications of the Young Communists (page 18) :

#### "Our Leader"

"Lenin is leading the way  
 He won't let the capitalists lead us astray  
 'Away with Capitalism and the King!  
 'Lenin and Soviet Russia!'  
 The cry will ring.  
 Workers stop your toil!  
 Farmers, don't till the soil!  
 We march today under the blood stained red  
 We will fight to have our families fed.  
 We march amid mothers' and fathers' applause;  
 We will fight for a just cause.  
 Lenin is our leader today—  
 Under Lenin we can not lose the way.  
 We will destroy the capitalists;  
 They won't be able to resist,  
 Because we march under blood stained red,  
 And we have Lenin at our head."

This poem is not only interesting because of its revolutionary content but because it was written by a ten year old boy named Theodore Lerner of Brooklyn, New York. Sufficient has been shown thus far proving the foreign control of the Communist Party. Mr. Moore testified (Volume 1, p. 16) that he had joined the *Young Communist League* in 1934. He stated that the organization was an affiliate of the *Young Communist International* with headquarters in Moscow and that it was a training ground for Communists; that it participated in various non-Communist school and civic activities as well as in trade unions, unemployed organizations, etc., in order to spread Communism.

#### COMMUNIST FUNCTIONARIES

One of the most important witnesses on the subject of Communism with authority to speak was Jack Moore, the Secretary of the Communist Party for Los Angeles County in 1941. The committee subpoenaed Jack Moore at its first hearing held in the Assembly Chamber of the State Building in Los Angeles on July 28th of 1941. (Transcript Volume I, pages 3 to 113, inclusive.) He was attended by a stenographer and Leo Gallagher, whom he identified as his attorney.

Jack Moore is a paid functionary of the Communist Party with offices at the Communist Party headquarters, located at 124 W. Sixth Street, in the City of Los Angeles. His wife was formerly Marion Brooks, *Young Communist League* organizer, and one of the Communists utilized by the party in mobilizing the Communists in the Musicians' Union, Local 47, of Los Angeles. (Mrs. Marion Moore was subsequently expelled from the Musicians' Union in Los Angeles because of her Communist activities.) Jack Moore has a long Communist record. He sponsored Pettis Perry for the Communist Party nomination for the office of Lieutenant Governor of California in August of 1934 and sponsored Harold J. Ashe for the Communist Party nomination for Secretary of State at the same time. In 1936, he was a member of the *Young Communist League*. He joined the Communist Party in Los Angeles on October 23, 1936, and became a member of the *Relief Workers' Protective Union, International Labor Defense* and the *League Against War and Fascism*. He was a member of the board of directors of the Communist Party Workers' School in Los Angeles. In 1938 he sponsored Pettis Perry for the Communist Party nomination to the office of State Board of Equalization and Anita Whitney for the Communist Party nomination to the office of Controller. He was a candidate for the Communist Party nomination for the office of Assembly from the Sixty-fourth District in August of 1940. In this same year, he sponsored Anita Whitney for the Communist Party nomination for the office of United States Senate from California. He registered as a Communist in Los Angeles County June 15, 1940. He attended the Communist Party convention in San Francisco May 12, 1940. On February 19, 1941, he filed as a candidate for the City Council of Los Angeles from the Twelfth District. For some time he headed the Los Angeles branch of the *Young Communist League* and was the organizer of the Harbor Section for the Los Angeles Communist Party. In 1942, he was again a Communist candidate for the Assembly. For some time he handled Communist literature for

the Workers' Book Shop located at 224 South Soring Street in San Pedro. He was the secretary of the militant *Fish Cannery Workers' Union* in Long Beach. He has a police record.

The committee found Jack Moore, as the titular head of the Communist Party in the most populous county of the State, an unusually frank witness. His testimony as set forth in the first volume of the committee's transcripts is considered by many persons, not connected with the committee, to be of vital significance. He explained the physical structure and commented in detail on the doctrine and ideology of the Communist Party of the United States of America. He admitted the so-called "fraction" set up in unions and the Communist Party's general infiltration into the California trade union movement by such methods. He admitted the existence of Communist fractions in the *Workers' Alliance*. He admitted that he was familiar with the *Party Organizer* and familiar with plans set forth in this official Communist Party publication for recruiting members into the party and the technique used in penetrating trade unions.

He testified concerning the part played by the Communist Party in unionizing the Ford plant. He told the committee of the indoctrination of children as young as nine to 16 years of age; how they were taught the principles of world-revolution and class antagonism through the *Young Pioneers*, and thereafter how these children were further indoctrinated through the medium of the *Young Communist League*. He told the committee of his work as a member of the *Young Communist League* and his assistance in the organization of the *Relief Workers' Protective Union* in Los Angeles County. He related his work in organizing the A. F. of L. *Fish Canneries Union* and how he and an entire group of Communists in the Union were finally expelled, the charter of the Union being lifted by the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles. He stated that the Communists had been the moving force in organizing the C. I. O. *United Auto Workers' Union*.

He admitted that Communist front organizations, such as *Labor's Nonpartisan League*, *Federation for Political Unity*, the *Motion Picture Democratic Committee*, the *International Labor Defense* and the *International Workers' Order* took part in political elections. He testified that the Communists in California and in the United States firmly believe in the objectives of the party as enunciated by Lenin and Stalin.

Miles G. Humphrey, a former Communist Party functionary, told the committee under oath in San Francisco (Volume V, pp. 1616-1631) that he knew Aubrey Grossman when Grossman was very active in the *Young Communist League* and that he also knew him as a member of the Communist Party. Humphrey stated that he joined the Communist Party in Oakland in 1924 and attended several beginners classes in Communism in that city and later in New York City. He testified that he taught classes in Communism in Oakland and that he became a functionary of the party in San Jose in 1924 and that he was a unit organizer for about a year. He made a trip to Russia in 1926, the expenses of which were paid by the Soviet Union. He spent four months in Siberia and four months in Moscow doing industrial work. During his stay in Russia he contacted the Section Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Siberia to discuss conditions

in industry. Before going to Russia, Humphrey testified, he contacted an organization in New York called "Kuqbas" which preceded "Intourist" and his trip to the Soviet Union was arranged through this organization. He met a man in connection with "Kuqbas" by the name of Golos whom he later saw in Siberia. He was acquainted with Robert Minor, of the Communist Party of the United States and met him in Russia. He discussed with Minor his transfer from the Communist Party of the United States to the Communist Party of Soviet Russia which was arranged through the Comintern. During this time, Humphrey testified, Minor represented the Communist Party of the United States in Soviet Russia in the Communist International. Humphrey resided in New York City for some years after his return from Russia, during which time he helped organize the *International Labor Defense*, working through Communist Party channels. He was a member of the Bronx section of the Communist Party while in New York City.

Upon returning to Oakland, he became the secretary of the Communist Party for Alameda County and held this position for one year. He met John Leech, Secretary and organizer for the Communist Party in Los Angeles at that time. He knew Rudy Lambert as a party functionary in charge of the Communist Campus Unit at Berkeley. Humphrey stated that the Communist Party, during 1934, derived most of its funds from donations. The Campus Unit at the University of California paid its dues directly to a district or section organizer, rather than risk exposure of membership through following regular procedure. He knew Bert Hanman as a Communist Party member and admitted that he attended the meeting at which Hanman was expelled by the Communist Party Control Commission which then was composed of Elmer Hanoff, Walter Lambert and 10 others, on charges that Hanman had associated himself with the Trotskyites.

After this, Humphrey testified, he became a trade union organizer for the Communist Party, which position he held for some time. He met James Burford at Burford's apartment in Berkeley and attended the meeting at which Burford joined the party in 1934 or 1935. He testified that James Burford became a member of Unit Number 5 in Berkeley. It was Humphrey, according to his testimony, who took Burford's application for membership in the party.

Among others identified by Humphrey in his testimony were Dr. Samuel Twain, Examining Physician for the *International Workers' Order* in Oakland. Humphrey did not state that Dr. Twain was a member of the Communist Party but stated that he was very close to it. The *International Workers' Order*, testified Mr. Humphrey, was organized by the Communist Party to take over the members of a socialist organization known as the *Workmen's Circle*. He stated that Dr. Twain's brother is the Secretary of the *International Workers' Order* in Oakland. (Your committee should report, at this juncture, that Dr. Twain held a commission in the State Guard in 1942.) Humphrey knew Signa Ludlow as a member of the Communist Party in Berkeley and Roy Noftz as a member of the Communist Party in Oakland. He stated that Noftz later became active in the *Workers' Alliance*, the Communist Party having appointed him to a position in that front organization.

*People's Daily World*

The *People's Daily World* is the successor to the *Western Worker*. It is the official West Coast motor-drive for Communist Party transmission belts, although it has attempted to disguise its red character under the cloak of labor. In order that its identity be thoroughly established the committee has traced its genealogy. The hammer and sickle, together with the statement "Western Organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., Section of the Communist International" appeared on the masthead of the *Western Worker* until Monday, March 8, 1937. The hammer and sickle disappeared from the masthead of the *Western Worker* with the issue of March 8, 1937, and instead of the statement "Western Organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., Section of the Communist International," appeared the slogan "People's Champion of Liberty, Progress and Peace." In the notice of publication column, however, the hammer and sickle, together with the statement "Western Organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A.," was carried. The hammer and sickle still appeared in the official notice of publication column until the issue of April 5, 1937.

The last edition of the *Western Worker* appeared December 30, 1937. It was still listed as the "Western Organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A.," however, and page 2 of this issue contained a full-page advertisement announcing the "*People's Daily World*," the new paper. The first paragraph entitled "Farewell" is as follows: "This is the final edition of the Western Worker, as it makes way for the People's World, its successor, which will make its first appearance on January 1st."

The first issue of the *People's Daily World* appeared January 1, 1938. At the head of its official notice of publication column, the name "*People's Daily World*" is followed by the following slogan and statement: "For Security, Democracy and Peace. Formerly Western Worker, founded 1932."

On this same page appeared a group of greetings to the *People's Daily World*. We quote the "greetings" "From the Communist Party":

"This historic occasion, the publishing of the first issue of the daily 'People's World,' marks the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Western Worker in 1932. It took six years of struggle since that first mimeographed edition grew into a mighty people's organ which will speak not only for the Communist Party but for all those progressive forces that will constitute the American peoples' front.

"The Communist Party could not have done it alone. It took tens of thousands of workers, farmers, and middle class people on the Pacific Coast to build a daily people's voice. They have participated in a great historic event; the inauguration of a new type of daily press, which will serve the people of the West and all America. Together with the 'Daily Worker' of New York and the 'Mid-West Daily Record' of Chicago, the People's World will be a part of a powerful chain of people's daily papers that will

strike a telling blow against reaction and fascism, and for Socialism.

"We want to take this opportunity to express our thanks to all those who contributed their efforts to make the daily 'People's World' possible. New Years greetings to all of its readers, party members and nonparty members alike, from the California State Committee of the Communist Party.

"(Signed) ANITA WHITNEY,  
State Chairman,

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN,  
Secretary,  
Communist Party."

Every effort was made on the part of the Communist Party sponsors of the new paper, the *People's Daily World*, to disguise its Communist character. Many labor leaders throughout the State were called and asked to express an opinion on the desirability of a daily newspaper devoted solely to labor news. Many legitimate labor leaders, unfamiliar with the *Western Worker* or Communist tactics, were tricked into making statements welcoming the appearance of a "real" labor paper. Thus it was that certain labor leaders throughout California were later embarrassed when learning that they had unwittingly offered congratulations on the appearance of a Communist publication on the West Coast.

Your committee called Bert S. Leech to testify at the committee's San Diego hearing. (Volume VIII, pp. 2133-2213.) Leech, being a well known Communist in the State of California, testified quite frankly as to his Communist Party activities, although he stated that he was registered politically as a Democrat. The committee learned that he had worked for the State Relief Administration for approximately a month in San Diego and had secured the position through a Mrs. Wooster. Leech's testimony made the secret nature of the Communist Party very clear. He had no hesitancy in admitting his own Communist Party affiliation, even though he was registered as a Democrat. He told the committee that there are ethical ties with the working class in the United States and the working classes in other countries and that no antagonism exists between the workers of different countries. He stated that he was very familiar with the *Official History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Soviet textbook, and that he had taught it. He stated that it sets forth the ideology of the Communist Party as well as the history of the Soviet Union. He could not remember the exact time when he became a member of the Communist Party, and like most of his comrades, could not recall from whom he ever received a party book. He admitted having been a member of the Communist labor front infiltrating State, county and municipal governments, the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*, C. I. O. He has missed few Communist Party State conventions. He admitted that he was acquainted with the chief Communist Party functionaries, such as William Schneiderman, Betty Gannet, Pettis Perry, Paul Cline, Jack Moore and others. He likewise admitted being acquainted with

Elaine Black of the *International Labor Defense* (who, for a time, was evacuated to the Japanese Santa Anita camp with her Japanese husband) and James Burford. He testified that he had used names other than that of Bert Leech, being known in Communist Party work as Bert Jackson. He told the committee that there was no conflict between Communist Party ideals and orthodox religion. At one point in his testimony, probably because your committee indicated its knowledge of his activities by its questions, he interrupted himself to remark: "I was just trying to place the stool-pigeon in this case." Once he slipped in his testimony and mentioned the official capacity of the Communist Party Control Commission (p. 2176). He stated that the Control Commission kept track of the enemies of the Communist Party, particularly in their movement from one county to another. He concluded his testimony by explaining that Communist Party members do not register as Communists because of their fear of economic reprisals. He explained that actual membership in the Communist Party entails a willingness to accept assignments and to undertake responsibilities but did not elaborate on the nature of the assignments or the responsibilities.

Mrs. La Verne Frances Lym testified that her husband was the chairman of the Communist Party in San Diego County. (Volume VIII, pp. 2218-2256, 2362-2365). She stated that she had joined the Communist Party during the Summer of 1939 and had received a membership book but, again, like all other Communist witnesses, she failed to remember to whom she paid her dues, although she later thought that she might have paid them to Dan Taylor. She attended the Communist Party Workers' School in Los Angeles taught by Eva Shafran. Mrs. Lym stated that she and her husband ran the Communist Party book store in San Diego, which is managed by the *International Book Store Committee* and that her position with the store is merely that of acting manager. She identified a photograph taken in Tijuana on May 18, 1940, of a May Day parade. The Communist Flag with the hammer and sickle is displayed in the parade and Mrs. Lym identified herself and stated that Dan Taylor was carrying the Flag of Soviet Russia.

William Schneiderman, the Secretary of the Communist Party of California, testified at great length on the structure, organization, theory and practice of the Communist Party in California. (Volume V, pp. 1260-1342.) William Schneiderman was born in the Ukraine, Russia, and came to the United States in 1908. He has been affiliated with the Communist Party since 1924 or 1925 and prior to his joining the Party was a member of the *Young Communist League* which was known in those days as the *Young Workers' League*. The Communist Party of California does not maintain files or documents in reference to Party membership, and has kept no records since 1939. The committee learned from Schneiderman that Party membership books have been discontinued since about January of 1940 and the committee is in possession of authoritative information that this statement is true. The numerical strength of the Party in California is computed, according to Schneiderman, by per capita tax receipts from the counties of the State and it is the duty of the Financial Secretary of the Communist Party of the State to make such computations; to keep such records for a few weeks and then to destroy them. Schneiderman's rough esti-

mate of the membership of the secret Communist Party in California as of December, 1941, was between five and six thousand.

The "fraction" and "cell" technique of the Communist Party, according to Schneiderman, was discontinued in 1937 or 1938. The fractions, he contended, had been frequently "a sort of friction" in many organizations. He intimated that the Communists working in labor unions presently, only participate in open caucuses attended by non-Communist members. The committee is in possession of authoritative information that this statement by Schneiderman is not completely true. Small Communist fractions and cells still meet and plan strategy for open caucuses with non-Communist members. Agendas and proposed activities are worked out by the small fractions or cells and then carried to caucuses where they are made to appear to be the action of a sizable group, the majority of which, in most cases, is non-Communist.

Schneiderman testified that the Communist Party maintains a commercial account in the Bank of America in San Francisco and that they issue monthly statements. No books are kept and the statements are not kept. These records are all destroyed when the financial secretary finishes with them.

We learned from William Schneiderman that it was always customary to close Communist Party conventions with the singing of the *Internationale*.

Indicating the International aspect of the Communist Party, Schneiderman explained the use of party membership books and stamps. International Solidarity Stamps, he explained, were used for anti-Fascist organizations, especially in Germany against Hitler.

Pettis Perry has a long and active record as a Communist Party member in Southern California. He was chairman of the Communist Party County Central Committee in Los Angeles County during 1940 and still held this position at the time of his appearance before the committee, February 23, 1942. (Volume IX, pp. 2640-2657.) Perry, being a Negro, is utilized by the Communist Party in California for the purpose of recruiting Negroes into the party. He has run for public office on many occasions in Los Angeles County. He has sponsored such Communists for office as Samuel W. Jones, Leo Gallagher, Louis Rosner, and others. He has associated with such known Communists as Herman N. Steffens, James C. McLean, Mrs. Forrest G. Thompson, Mrs. Adele R. Young, Walter A. Martin, Jack Moore, Mrs. Miriam Moore, Mrs. Viola M. Maddox, Mrs. Mary Butler, Mrs. Leona Chamberlin, Mrs. Gertrude Betts, Helen Maloff, Edwin J. Nelson, Sam Darcy, Elmer Hanoff, Dorothy Ray and many others.

Perry has done considerable teaching in the Communist Party worker's schools, lecturing on such subjects as Marxism and the War, History of the American Negro People, et cetera. He testified that he knew James McGowan, Alexander Noral and other Communist Party functionaries. He recalled meeting Sol Hilkowitz and Hermine Hilkowitz in San Diego, as well as Bert Leech and Carroll Hunnwell of San Diego. He admitted having spent some time at the Hilkowitz ranch in Mission Valley near San Diego. He admitted that the Communist Party had adopted the slogan "All Out Aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the Allies." He stated that there were less than a hundred Negroes affiliated with the Communist Party in Los

Angeles County and that, all together, there were between 1,500 and 2,000 members of the party in Los Angeles County.

Dr. Vaughn A. K. Tashjian, known as "Dr. Parker" in the Communist Party, and many times a witness before committees investigating subversive activities, was called before the committee in Los Angeles, February 24, 1942. (Volume IX, pp. 2679-2691.) Dr. Tashjian's unique position as the disciplinary commissar of the Communist Party in Southern California and his rather sinister appearance, makes him always an interesting witness. As the head of the ruthless disciplinary control commission, his testimony might be unusually illuminating were it possible to induce him to talk freely and honestly. He is undoubtedly a thoroughly indoctrinated Communist Party functionary, well trained in the iron discipline of the revolutionary class-struggle. He is a practicing dentist in the City of Los Angeles and has been a member of the Communist Party, by his own admission, since 1932.

The committee is in possession of authoritative evidence that Dr. Tashjian is actually a member of the Communist International. All Communist International members are introduced to Los Angeles County Communist Party functionaries through Dr. Tashjian and it is known that he maintains contact with the Filipino Committee and the Japanese Committee of the Communist Party and is in touch, at all times, with the OGPU of the Comintern. Rumors within the Communist Party itself are to the effect that Dr. Tashjian actually heads the OGPU in the Western Hemisphere. Authoritative information in the hands of the committee places Dr. Tashjian in charge of the underground activities of the Communist Party in the State and indicates that he is a trusted contact man with the Comintern.

The present policy of the Communist Party is to deny the present existence of the control commission. This was dutifully done by several Communist Party functionaries testifying before the committee. Dr. Tashjian told the committee that when he was the head of the control commission, it was his duty to "hear both sides" of grievances in the party, to investigate financial irregularities and to exercise disciplinary power; to correct members who were "pursuing an incorrect attitude" and to expel them when their attitudes could not be corrected.

Like all other functionaries of the Communist Party, he could not remember from whom he received his party book and, of course, could not remember to whom he paid dues. His memory almost collapsed entirely when questioned concerning the last meeting of the Communist Party he had attended. He could remember that it was "last Thursday" but could not, for the life of him, remember where the meeting was held or who was present.

When the Communist Party constitutional provisions for the Control Commission were read to him, contradicting his testimony regarding the abolition of the Control Commission, he admitted the present effectiveness and binding power of the provision, squirmed, and finally stated that the Control Commission, the constitution to the contrary notwithstanding, had been abandoned.

Archie Brown is a California Communist functionary of long standing. (Volume VI, pp. 1730-1758.) His Communist Party activities began prior to 1929 or 1930 when he first affiliated with the Young

*Communist League.* Although he lived in Oakland, he did not belong to the Berkeley unit of the party. His memory was very faulty as to members of the Communist Party and the *Young Communist League*. He could not remember the approximate number of members of the *Young Communist League* in Berkeley; where he bought his Communist Party dues-stamps or the name of the person from whom he purchased them. Although Brown admitted attending Communist Party meetings about every two weeks, he could not remember where the meetings were held or who attended them. His recollection of *Young Communist League* and Communist Party activities in Oakland were very vague. While he admitted going to 37 Grove Street and 121 Haight Street in San Francisco, he could not determine at which place he bought his dues-stamps. Being pinned down he finally remembered purchasing stamps at William Schneiderman's office but couldn't remember the name of the girl from whom he purchased them. He finally stated that he merely knew her as "Comrade."

Being an open Communist Party functionary, running from time to time on the Communist ticket for public office and with Communist Party endorsements, Brown had no hesitancy in admitting his present Communist Party affiliation. He admitted having spoken at a campus meeting at Sather Gate of the University of California at Berkeley in either 1932 or 1933. Although he had been a literature agent for the Communist Party at one time his memory failed him in reference to his duties in this position, and he claimed that, although he was the agent for the literature of the party, he did not know very much about the literature itself.

He has been a member of the *International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union*, Local 110, of San Francisco for about six years. Although he attended various conferences held at the Communist Party headquarters at 121 Haight Street in the City of San Francisco, he does not yet know the exact purpose of the conferences. He is acquainted with Jack Moore, Pettis Perry, Anita Whitney, William Schneiderman, James Burford, but suffered lapses of memory in reference to other individuals.

He went to Spain with a man by the name of Yocum from California and enlisted in the *Abraham Lincoln Brigade* at Mar se Mont Blanc, Spain. He referred to John Gordon Honeycombe as a "rat" for not "fighting and dying with his comrades" in Spain. He admitted that he had looked upon the present world conflict, prior to June 22, 1941, as a "British Imperialist War" and had felt that President Roosevelt was a "warmonger" but, at the time of testifying (December 3, 1941) he had revised his entire opinion and ideas on the subject.

Archie Brown was a candidate for supervisor for the City and County of San Francisco in 1941. The Communist Party's West Coast newspaper, the *People's Daily World* of October 4, 1941, lists the sponsors for Brown's candidacy for the office of supervisor. Among these sponsors the committee finds Tim Kelly, C. I. O. *Inland Boatman's Union*; Paul Orr, A. F. of L. *Cook's Union*, Local 44; Owen Kiernan, *Marine Cooks and Stewards*; Andy Harris, A. F. of L. *Culinary Miscellaneous Employees Union*, Local 110; Clair Aderer, C. I. O. *Office and Professional Workers Union*; Homer Mulligan, C. I. O. *American Communications Association*, Local 9; Emile Rabin, A. F. of L. *Cleaners and*

Dyers; Walter Stack, *Marine Firemen*; Jack Smith, *Marine Cooks and Stewards*; Walter Lambert, Grace Partridge and Anita Whitney. The *People's Daily World* of October 29, 1941, mentions three additional alleged trade union leaders supporting Archie Brown for supervisor. These supporters are named as Frank Dunn, president of the *American Can Local*, *Steel Workers' Organizing Committee*; George Lee, secretary of the same organization, and Max Weitzner, a member of the *Furriers' Union Executive Board* and a delegate to the C. I. O. *Industrial Union Council*. Carmelo Zito, the editor of *Corriere del Popolo*, is also reported as publicly supporting the candidacy of Archie Brown. Henry Schmidt, the former president of the C. I. O. *Longshoremen's Union*, Local 10; Alden Clark, president of the *Industrially Unemployed Workers' Union*, and Wayne Canut, business agent of the A. F. of L. *Culinary Employees Union*, Local 110, are reported in the *People's Daily World* of October 31, 1941, as supporting Brown for supervisor. He received a total vote in the election of 26,456 or 12.5 per cent of the total votes cast.

## 9

**LABOR ORGANIZATIONS**

Trade unions are particularly susceptible to Communist infiltration. Small fractions are sometimes very successful in large and unwieldy organizations. Because of the keen and fervent revolutionary spirit indoctrinated into the members of the Communist Party, and because most legitimate trade unionists are interested in their jobs and their homes to the exclusion of other considerations, the small Communist unit is enabled to dominate and control many large trade unions in California and in America.

In this connection the committee wishes to observe that legitimate trade unions will never be free of Communist domination and control, or the menace of it, until they amend their constitutions and by-laws in such a manner as will give *every* member of the union an opportunity to pass on important questions that come before their respective organizations. The committee has observed that where the membership is large and unwieldy and the quorum is small in comparison to the membership of the union itself, the Communist Party fraction is easily able to dominate the policies of the organization. While it is not within the province of this committee to recommend constitutional and by-law changes to the trade union movement of California, it, nevertheless, suggests that elections and important proposals should be submitted by secret ballot to each and every member of the union by mail, rather than permit bare quorums in weekly or monthly meetings to determine policies and permit the election of officers by small active groups which come to union headquarters on election day. The American Labor movement might well protect itself from the Communist menace of domination and control by providing that no important policy be adopted or any officer thereof elected except by a majority vote of the *entire membership* and not, as is done in many local unions throughout California at this time, by those who merely attend meetings or who cast their vote at the union headquarters between designated hours on a designated election day.

The Communist Party conducts schools in the principal cities of the State. These schools are known as *Workers' Schools*, but their Communist Party character is readily recognized by their leaflets and pamphlets setting forth the subjects taught and the names of the instructors, as well as by the advertisements for the schools which appear in the Communist Party press. These schools teach Marxism, the history of Communism, labor tactics, and kindred subjects. The names of prominent educators, as well as the names of individuals high in State political circles, appear as lecturers in the courses offered by these schools from time to time. The committee has collected many of these circulars and pamphlets in which the classes and courses are displayed together with the names of the lecturers and teachers.

Matthew G. Guidera (Volume V, pp. 1429-1447) testified that Dr. Aaron Rosanoff was a lecturer for the Communist Party Workers' School in Los Angeles in 1933. The committee is in possession of photo-stats of the pamphlets of the Communist Party Workers' School in Los Angeles advertising this fact.

Jack Moore, Southern California Communist functionary, shed considerable light on Communist Party tactics in capturing the labor movement. As an illustration of some of the tactics used your committee quotes from the testimony of Jack Moore beginning on page 31 of Volume I of the committee's transcript:

"Q. I am going to read into the record a statement from the Party Organizer, March and April, 1937, page 21, and ask you if these things discussed in this paragraph would comprise a part of your duties:

"As our first step, we communicated with every County and Section and proposed the immediate establishment of recruiting committees, suggested that special discussions be held in the Units, Branches and Fractions on recruiting, on adoption of a plan of work, and a plan for retaining new members.'

"Does that generally constitute a part of your activities?"

"A. (Moore) Yes, I think that is a pretty fair statement of it."

"Q. I would also like to read another article, page 33, entitled 'From Secret to Open Work,' by Vera Sanders, and I quote:

"We decided to build up secret union groups of the workers, functioning independently of one another, and, of course, without the knowledge of the company. We selected a number of workers as initial contacts. The basis for this selection was their strategic positions in the plant, their personal qualifications for leadership, and their influence with the men. Three such men were picked in the beginning, the comrades in the unit discussed the matter of union organization with these men, and arranged for the union organizer to visit them.

"These men, together with the party's comrades in the shop, set to work lining up for the union's picked individ-

uals. Meetings of the union groups were held in private homes of the workers once a week where needed, and once every two weeks when found more desirable. The comrades in the units attended the various group meetings to assure the leadership of the party.

"At the union group meeting which resulted, the comrades took leadership in discussing the necessity of building the union, and after the union organizer had given his report, the comrades would go into the details of whom to recruit to the union groups and how to recruit them. General discussion was also initiated by the comrades on the labor movement as a whole, and we began to have regular discussion periods at each of the union group meetings, actively involving the workers with such questions as the C. I. O., the American Labor Party, Industrial Unionism, et cetera. It was constantly pointed out that ours was an industrial type of union. We had to overcome the result of an A. F. of L. sell-out some years ago, and point out that we believed in practiced trade union democracy."

Q. "Did you engage in such activities as are generally set forth in this excerpt, Mr. Moore, in your fraction?"

A. (Moore) "In my experience in the fish canneries in San Pedro, I and one other member of the Young Communists' League were instrumental in organizing some 1,500 workers into a Fish Cannery Workers' Union. We conducted a number of successful strikes and the consequence was that within a period of one year, the pay of the fish cannery workers was increased about \$250,000."

In 1934 a considerable sum of money was sent from the then Soviet Commissar for heavy industries to a Communist in Hollywood. This sum was to be used for the purpose of creating an entering wedge into the motion picture industry. No immediate effort was made at that time to recruit movie stars into the party, and the entire attention of the Hollywood Comrade was concentrated on capturing key trade unions in the industry. This was the then mandated procedure laid down by the Comintern and later set forth in the textbooks of the Communist Party. Strong Communist fractions were planted and maintained in nearly every Hollywood trade union that had jurisdiction over anything in the motion picture studios. The Communist Party working in Hollywood wanted control over everything that moved on wheels, sound trucks, camera platforms, transportation of equipment and personnel to and from location, and even the tray-dollys in the cafeterias. They soon moved Communist fractions into the unions having jurisdiction over carpenters, painters, musicians, grips, and electricians. To control these trade unions was to control the motion picture studios.

Next in importance to the Hollywood trade unions working in the motion picture industry, were the writers, script men and other professionals having to do with the actual story writing and production of motion picture plays. Representatives of your committee visited the motion picture studios in Hollywood, conferred with studio man-

agers; with the heads of most of the important Hollywood trade unions. Many of the leaders of these organizations were keenly aware of the infiltration into their locals and in many cases felt themselves powerless to stop it. The committee found most of these labor leaders loyal Americans. J. W. Buzzell, secretary of the Los Angeles Labor Council, Lew Blix, business representative for Local 495 of the *International Brotherhood of Teamsters*, Aubrey Blair, an organizer for the *American Federation of Labor*, associated with the Teamsters' Union and formerly a secretary of the *Screen Actors' Guild* in Hollywood and many other A. F. of L. labor leaders were extremely helpful to the committee in this phase of its investigation.

Representatives of the committee viewed and analyzed motion pictures which had been allegedly treated with Communist propaganda. Many individuals who were once highly paid technicians of unquestioned ability in the motion picture industry, were interviewed. We learned that the Communist dominated unions and organizations had a system of effective "black-lists" for members who had openly opposed Communism or the Communist cliques, in the various unions. We learned that many of these highly skilled individuals were unable to secure employment because of this "black-list."

In this connection the committee reports that the Communist Party, through both its control of certain trade unions and its systematic method of "smearing" individuals who oppose them and who attempt to expose them, have in the past, and are maintaining at the present, the most effective "black-listing" in the history of the State. Opposition to Communism and to its comrades carries a persuasive economic penalty in certain quarters in California, and particularly in some phases of the motion picture industry.

Many fellow travelers working in close harmony with Communist Party fractions in labor unions when called before the committee blandly denied being members of the Communist Party, or of knowing anything, whatever, about Communism and posed as "trade union Progressives." Among this group were such witnesses as Samuel Albert, Mischa Altman, Lee Gregovich, James Burford, Phillip M. Connelly, Oscar Fuss, Jack Greenberg (not to be confused with *Jack Carl Greenburg*), Frederick Langton, Herbert K. Sorrell and B. Joseph Zukas. Although these witnesses suffered from sudden lapses of memory and indicated little knowledge of the subject-matter of Communism, they were well acquainted with organizations such as *Labor's Non-Partisan League*, *Musicians' Democratic Committee*, *Motion Picture Democratic Committee*, *The People's Daily World* and other Communist Party front organizations and party literature, and in many cases had a close working relationship with known Communists and fellow travelers such as Don Healy, John Howard Lawson, Paul Cline, James Burford, William Schneiderman, Pettis Perry, Dorothy Ray, Herb Sorrell, Jack Moore, Bert Leech, Elaine Black, Oscar Fuss, Aubrey Grossman, Leo Gallagher, Larue McCormick, and many others.

The committee has gathered voluminous evidence proving that the Communist Party of California and in the United States is now taking every advantage of the war and our concentration in winning it, to infiltrate, not only into labor unions, but also the strategic positions in Government. The committee reports that the Communists are making

great strides in this endeavor. In their own secret councils they are frankly preparing for the time when the armed forces of our country will be demobilized and economic and social readjustments will be presenting a fertile field for furthering the revolutionary cause of the Comintern. The Communist Party is making great headway in many of California's trade unions. The top leadership in the *Congress for Industrial Organization* in California is practically in the hands of the Communist Party. Testimony under oath before the committee unequivocally places Phillip M. Connelly, the State President of the C. I. O., in the Communist Party. Connelly, when he appeared before the committee in December of 1942, denied that he had ever joined the Communist Party, in spite of the sworn affidavit of Rena M. Vale and the sworn testimony of others. It is rather significant that this same Phillip M. Connelly, less than 30 days later, was attending a Communist Party rally at the Philharmonic Auditorium in the City of Los Angeles, listening to a speech by America's Number One Communist, Earl Browder.

In the latter part of the Third Period of Communist strategy in the United States the Communists turned their attention to the lush field for financial contributions to party causes and the powerful medium for the moulding of public opinion which existed in Hollywood. The effectiveness of Communist technique in such matters here manifested itself. The story is told in full in the committee's transcripts and in the correspondence that passed between Roy Hudson, a high Communist Party functionary in New York City and Jeff Kibre who led the invasion into the Hollywood unions. The committee is in possession of photostatic copies of this correspondence.

Early in 1937 the pattern of Communist intrigue began to be discernible (had there been anyone around who was familiar with the pattern) in many trade unions connected with Hollywood's motion picture industry. Communist fractions in key unions such as the *International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees* (IATSE), *Studio Carpenters*, *Musicians' Union*, *Studio Teamsters*, *Studio Painters* and others began to function in earnest and in the approved Communist method indicated by the testimony of Jack Moore. Fractions and cells, disciplined and agendized with resolutions, motions and steering-committees in secret caucuses expanded into meetings including carefully selected non-Communist union members and proceeded to offer their prepared agendas, resolutions and motions, all of which were promptly and unanimously adopted by the unsuspecting non-Communists present. In many cases the Communist members pushed non-Communists members forward in such meetings so that the deluded trade-unionist actually believed that he had cleverly originated many of the motions and resolutions which, as a matter of fact, were carefully worked out months before by the Communist Labor Commission itself. The members of Communists fractions in trade-unions made their selection of the non-Communist members invited to the union's "progressive" caucuses generally on the basis of such individual's personal grievance against some officer of the organization, fancied or real. Through flattery and comradely back-slapping, praise and admiration, the non-Communist "progressive" was induced to lead the general onslaught on his own labor-union. This pernicious technique has

created "fellow-travelers" of a unique character. Many an ordinarily decent loyal American trade-unionist, outraged at the racketeering tactics of some labor leader, fired with a resolve to "clean up his own union," flattered and ego-flated by the admiring urges of Comintern comrades, whom he looked upon as good trade-unionists, has found himself suddenly referred to as a "commie" and an agitator. Not knowing anything about Communism and having never met a self-admitted Communist, the uninformed, but otherwise loyal trade-unionist finds himself dismayed and confused. The Communist fraction in the enlarged caucuses make great capital out of such a situation. When the appellation is properly applied to actual Communist Party members of the group all of the non-Communist members are quickly convinced of their staunch Americanism when it is pointed out that "good old dumb John who always voted the Republican ticket" was also called a "Communist."

Enlarged caucuses, Communist steered and organized, began to function in Hollywood in 1937. Closed Communist fraction meetings always preceded the meetings of the larger groups. Each Communist member of the fraction was assigned 20 or more non-Communist members of the trade-union and were held strictly accountable for the conduct and attitude of the people assigned to them. The matters to be discussed in the enlarged and mixed caucuses were carefully outlined ahead of time in closed fraction meetings and the action to be taken by the expanded group meticulously planned. Thus, the "*progressive*" caucuses, as they were ultimately called, appeared to make decisions in a democratic manner and the non-Communist members rarely suspected that their decisions had been planned, in some cases, months ahead for them. The average rank-and-file member of a labor organization has little experience in public speaking or in parliamentary procedure and his "*meeting*" activities are usually confined to voting in the approved manner of his union's by-laws. The Communists, on the other hand, have usually been trained in the Communist Party's Workers' Schools, and have considerable knowledge of parliamentary procedure and can talk extemporaneously for hours.

The decisions thus "democratically" reached in the "*progressive*" caucuses are then carried to the floor of union meetings. A non-Communist stooge has usually been selected at the "*progressive*" caucus to present the planned resolutions and motions. The Communist steering committee sees to it that the stooge is supported by proper seconds and the comrades themselves arise to speak if things appear to be going badly. Many trade-unions require comparatively small quorums and, where the membership of the organization is large, meetings are poorly attended. Generally the membership of the "*progressive*" group is an overwhelming majority in any such meeting and the decisions of the "*progressive caucus*" which had been planned for them by the Communist fraction, becomes the official policy or action of the union itself.

Several such enlarged caucuses, Communist dominated and controlled, came into being in Hollywood in 1937. The first of importance was the "*I. A. Progressives*" made up of members of the *International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees* (IATSE), an *American Federation of Labor* affiliate. Another was the so-called "*progressive*"

group in the Los Angeles "Musicians' Union, Local 47, of the *American Federation of Musicians*. This group, after the union organization increased its quorum from 75 to 300, organized itself into the *Musicians' Democratic Committee*, and affiliated with the Hollywood Communist front organization *The Motion Picture Democratic Committee*. The "*I. A. Progressives*," failing in capturing the Hollywood locals of the IATSE, ultimately became the nucleus of the *United Studio Technicians Guild* (USTG), financed by Harry Bridges. This organization, completely dominated and controlled by the Communist Party, petitioned the *National Labor Relations Board* for an election to determine the collective bargaining agency for the motion picture industry. Had the Communists been successful in this election they would have controlled Hollywood.

Among those examined in reference to the C. I. O. Communist-dominated *United Studio Technicians Guild*, the "*I. A. Progressives*" and the IATSE were Aubrey Blair, Lew C. G. Blix, George E. Bodle, Edward Heim, L. C. Helm, Herbert K. Sorrell and A. H. Webber.

Lew C. G. Blix, business representative for Local 495 of the *International Brotherhood of Teamsters* in the City of Los Angeles, told the committee of his acquaintance with Jeff Kibre during the time that Blix was secretary-treasurer of Local 37 of the *International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees* in Hollywood. Blix identified Jeff Kibre's handwriting and signature on various documents which had been introduced in the record in connection with the Communist plot to capture the Hollywood unions. He gave the committee the history of the so-called "*I. A. Progressives*," headed by Kibre in 1937. He also testified of having seen a photostat of Jeff Kibre's application to join the Communist Party under the name of "Barry Wood." In this connection, it should be stated, that the committee read into its transcript the minutes of the Third Annual Convention of the Communist Party of Los Angeles, which was held April 29, 30, and May 1 of 1938. The minutes of this convention revealed that "Barry Wood" was elected to the county executive committee of the Communist Party. An affidavit of Ezra Chase, former Communist Party member, was also read into the committee's record, in which Chase identified Jeff Kibre as a member of the Communist Party.

Aubrey Blair, organizer for the *American Federation of Labor*, testified before the committee, detailing the attempt on the part of the Communist Party to capture the motion picture industry. Photostatic copies of letters of Jeff Kibre were introduced in connection with the testimony of Blair, showing the background of an organization known as the *Conference of Motion Picture Arts and Crafts* and generally referred to as COMPAC. Blair also corroborated the testimony of Blix in further detailing the Communist plot to capture the IATSE. He told the committee of the Communist Party fraction work in the "*I. A. Progressives*" and the creation of the *United Studio Technicians Guild* (USTG).

Edward Heim, a member of Local 728, of the IATSE and formerly a member of Local 37 of the IATSE, testified concerning the *United Studio Technicians Guild* (Volume II, pp. 514-520). Heim had left the IATSE and joined the *United Studio Technicians Guild* and for a time acted as the office manager of that group. He saw bundles of the

*People's Daily World*, the Communist Party periodical on the West Coast, in the office of the *United Studio Technicians Guild* which were used for free distribution. He told of conferences in the office of the organization between Jeff Kibre, Sam Goldblatt, Herb Sorrell and others and stated that he knew Sam Goldblatt to be a member of the Communist Party.

L. C. Helm, business representative of the *Studio Utility Employees'*, Local 742 (IATSE), also testified regarding the "I. A. Progressives" and the activities of the *United Studio Technicians Guild*. (Volume II, pp. 506-514.) He stated that this infiltration of Hollywood motion picture unions began with the *Studio Unemployment Conference* in 1938 to which the IATSE and the *Studio Painters* affiliated. Jeff Kibre spearheaded this organization and Herbert Biberman and Frank Tuttle attended several of the Conference meetings. Helm testified that the *Conference of Motion Picture Arts and Crafts* (COMPAC) grew out of the *Studio Unemployment Conference* and that Jeff Kibre continued as its guiding spirit, although Herbert Sorrell was influential in it. He stated that COMPAC later became the *United Studio Technicians Guild* under C. I. O. charter. Helm withdrew because of the Communist influence in COMPAC.

Similar situations were existing in other Hollywood unions. Organizing had been going on in the recording industry and in radio. Many of the early attempts at organization were undoubtedly legitimate and as the Communist element more and more forged to the front for their own particular purposes, many sincere American labor men were carried along. A strike finally developed at Columbia, conducted by the *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America*, C. I. O. (UERMWA). The witnesses examined by your committee in reference to this organization were Carl Brant, James H. Burford, Gene Haggberg and A. H. Webber.

Carl Brant, organizer for the *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America*, C. I. O. (UERMWA), admitted having been a member of the Communist Party for "about two or three years." Brant admitted being familiar with a play *Formation Left* by Jeff Kibre and Mildred Ashe and another left-wing play *Waiting for Lefty* by Clifford Odets and *Peace on Earth* by Albert Maltz. Although Carl Brant was listed in circulars advertising a Communist Party Workers' School as an instructor, he denied that he had ever served in such capacity.

The committee knew that Brant was in fact a member of the Communist Party and that he was an educational director in one of Los Angeles County's Communist units. He did a great deal of organizing work in the *Workers' Alliance* and in so-called Communist Cultural Projects. He was a delegate to the *California Federation of Government Employees'* Convention in 1937 in company with such well-known Communists as Fred Franchi, Leona McGenty and Rena Vale.

A. H. Webber related to your committee his difficulties with Local 1421 of the *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America*. (Volume II, pp. 357-387.) Webber had been employed for five years at the Columbia Recording Studio in Los Angeles and had been dismissed about seven weeks before testifying, July 30, 1941. He stated that he had assisted in organizing the union in the Columbia Recording

Studio and had applied for an A. F. of L. charter which was refused by Harold Smith, of the IATSE. He stated that a C. I. O. charter was accepted and that the union became known as Local 1421 of the UERMWA. In his capacity as a member of the shop committee, Webber always insisted on efficient workmen but the Communists endeavored to run in their members regardless of ability. Because of his protest against this tactic, charges were preferred against him and he was finally expelled from the union and ousted from his position in the Columbia Recording Studio. He has since been branded as "anti-union" and a "red-baiter" and has not been permitted to obtain another position where the C. I. O. influence is strong.

James H. Burford was subpoenaed. There is no doubt that this witness deliberately lied on many occasions under examination by the members of the committee and its interrogator. The committee unanimously passed a resolution referring the matter to the district attorney of Los Angeles County recommending that Burford be charged and tried for perjury. In this connection, it must be said, that this was the only recommendation made during the existence of the committee in which a prosecution was not instituted.

Burford has been a consistent worker in Communist infiltration activities for many years. As the secretary of the Young Democratic fraction, which was composed of allegedly Young Democratic leaders who were secret members of the Communist Party, Burford materially assisted in the disruption and destruction of the organization of the *Young Democrats of California*. Running the gamut of the usual occupational shifts and changes, Burford was, at the time of testifying, affiliated with the *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America*, C. I. O. He admitted knowing and associating with notorious Communists and Communist fellow travelers in California, such as Velda Johnston, James Toback, Paul Johnson, Paul Cline, Jack Moore, Rose Segure, Aubrey Grossman, William J. Plunkert, and William Elconin.

Burford testified (Volume II, pp. 316-344, July 30, 1941) that he had studied the *Communist Manifesto* in 1931 in San Diego State College. He stated that he was opposed to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F. B. I.) because they took "scabs" through a picket line of the C. I. O. *United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union* (UMMSWU). He admitted that he had supported the Communist candidate, Celeste Strack, running for Congress in the Thirteenth Congressional District against the incumbent, Congressman Kramer, in 1940.

Don Morton, who joined the Communist Party in 1936 in Berkeley, identified pictures of James Burford, and stated that he knew Burford as a Communist Party member during his affiliation with the party. (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794.) Morton further testified that he attended closed Communist Party meetings in Burford's home and that these meetings were gatherings of Unit Number 5, generally referred to as the "Campus Unit."

Coordinating the general plan of the Communist Party for the capture of Hollywood unions, the Communist fraction of Local 47, Los Angeles *Musicians' Union* extended its closed fraction meetings to selected non-Communist members of the association in the Fall of 1937.

These enlarged and mixed meetings soon became known as "progressive caucuses" and the individuals as "47 Progressives." The committee and its representatives have carefully examined the minutes of the steering committees of this group. The minutes of the board of directors of Local 47 for January 9, 1940, contains several hundred pages of the compiled activities of this group, together with photostatic copies of the minutes of the Communist dominated expanded caucuses. It is significant that, although the laws of the *Musicians' Union* in Los Angeles provide for the publication of the minutes of the board of directors in the official organ of the association, *The Overture*, the minutes of the board for January 9, 1940, have never been published.

The coordination of the over-all plan of the Communist Party for its Hollywood offensive by the Communists within Local 47 of the *Musicians' Union* of Los Angeles is clearly discernible in the resolutions, motions and activities outlined in the official pages of the minutes of the board of directors for January 9, 1940. Affiliation with many front organizations was carried to the general meetings of the association, such as *Labor's Non-Partisan League*, unemployed councils, etc. Ambulances for Spain and participation in many Communist activities are clearly revealed. The election of Miriam Brooks or Moore, the wife of Jack Moore, Los Angeles County Communist functionary, after but a few months membership, as a delegate to the State Federation of Labor's convention in Oakland in 1939 is one of the amazing achievements of the Communist element within this trade union association. (The membership of the Los Angeles *Musicians' Union* is between seven and eight thousand.) The trials and expulsion of Communist members such as Miriam Moore and Saul Posner are included in the minutes of the board above referred to, and the order of dissolution of the Communist front, *The Musicians' Democratic Committee*, is set forth, indicating the attempts of a beleaguered group of officers fighting for the American maintenance of the union.

Julius Furman of Local 47 of the *Musicians' Union* testified July 29, 1941, regarding his previously sworn testimony contained in the minutes of the board of directors of that association above mentioned. (Volume I, pp. 199-216.) Among those identified by Furman as working secretly with Communist Party members for the control and domination of Local 47 of the *American Federation of Musicians* were: Mischa Altman, Sam Albert, Haakon Bergh, Gerald Caylor, Lima Di Fiore, Louis Kaufman, Stephen Mougin, Herbert Offner, Wayne Ronka and Paul Robyn, all of whom were listed on photostatic copies of the minutes of the *Musicians' Union*'s board of directors of January 9, 1940. Furman named Mischa Altman as the leader of the Communist faction in the association and gave an account of a pro-Communist meeting held at the home of George Bassman, a member of the union.

Floyd Mathews, also a member of the *Musicians' Union*, testified as to Communist intrigue and plotting in the association. (Volume I, pp. 123-131.) He stated that one Eddie Gruen and Mischa Altman, both members of the union, invited him to attend a Communist Party school and that other members of Local 47, including Emerson Haraden, Eddie Gruen and Bernice Frazier, attended the Communist Party School. Mathews testified that Gruen and Altman told him that they were members of the Communist Party. Altman appeared to be the

"big fish" of the Marxist school. Mathews stated that Altman had told him that the Communist Party desired to place members of the party in the police department and in the Army.

The *Musicians' Union* of Los Angeles may be definitely said to be under the control and domination of the Communist Party and is presently being used to carry out certain parts of the Communist Party program.

Your committee called and examined many witnesses in reference to Communist activities in the agrarian districts of the State. This field is an important one in Communist strategy. It has not been overlooked in the past by Communist agitators and will not be neglected in the future, although large industrial centers are the chief and ever-present targets. The *Simon J. Lubin Society* and UCAPAWA are the Communist fronts in California agrarian penetration. The testimony of Dorothy Ray, now Mrs. Don Healy, is typical of the activities of Communist Party functionaries in this field. Miss Ray, by her own admission, has been very active in Communist Party agitation in the agricultural districts of California. She testified before the committee December 2, 1941, in San Francisco. (Volume V, pp. 1639-1641, 1795-1806, and Volume VI, pp. 1818-1864.) She admitted knowing many Communists and Communist fellow travelers, such as James Burford, Archie Brown, Lillian Monroe, Ted Rasmussen, Stanley Hancock and others. She testified that she was born in Denver, Colorado, in 1914 and that her maiden name was Rosenblum.

The agricultural red fronts must first be examined. The *Simon J. Lubin Society* was organized in the Fall of 1936. It took its name from the late Simon J. Lubin who formerly headed the California Division of Immigration and Housing. He was admittedly a member of the I. W. W.

The organization was the work of Unit 104 of the Professional Section of the Communist Party. This unit had been doing research work for the agricultural activities of the party and Helen Horn (Hosmer) and Dr. Soule, members of Unit 104, conceived the idea of forming a club or society that would include non-party members. They persuaded the Lubin family to allow them to name the organization after Simon J. Lubin. The Lubins did not know the real purpose behind the organization or that it was controlled by the Communist Party. (Dies Reports, Volume 3, pp. 1997-8.)

After Unit 104 had organized the society, the leader of the professional section of the Communist Party widened its scope in 1936. With the aid of Donald Henderson, National President of the *United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America* (UCAPAWA), who was visiting in San Francisco at the time, the future activities of the society were worked out. It became the channel through which the Communist Party conducts its fight against the farming industry.

Aubrey Grossman represented the society in a legal action against the Salinas Lettuce Growers.

The society appeared with the *American League Against War and Fascism* as a joint sponsor for a meeting held in San Francisco on May 7, 1937, to discuss the cannery workers' strike in the San Joaquin area.

For a short time in 1937 the society occupied joint offices with the *Conference for Repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Act.*

On July 9, 10, 11 and 12, 1937, a National convention of agricultural organizations was held in Denver, Colorado, presided over by Donald Henderson. Henderson had formerly been on the faculty of Columbia University but had been removed due to radical and Communist activities. UCAPAWA (*United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America*) came out of this convention and affiliated with the C. I. O. with Donald Henderson as its National president. Pat Callahan and Dorothy Ray, both known Communists, became president and vice president, respectively, of the organization in California.

Under Communist direction UCAPAWA gradually made itself known in agricultural districts of California. Labor agitation and disturbances were gradually accelerated.

Lauretta Adams, section organizer of the Communist Party in Kern County, together with Clyde Champion, Communist candidate for public offices, were organizers for UCAPAWA, as well as for the *Workers' Alliance* and the Communist Party.

In February of 1940 a Field Workers' School, sponsored by UCAPAWA, was held at Chino, California for the purpose of training organizers. Revels Cayton, Negro Communist secretary of the San Francisco local of the *Maritime Federation of the Pacific*, Amy Schechter, formerly a student at the Lenin School in Moscow in 1939 and a writer for *New Masses*, Communist magazine, and Carey McWilliams, Chief of the California Division of Immigration and Housing, were the instructors at the Field Workers' School.

Miss Ray's Communist activities carried her into many agricultural unions. She stated that she had worked with independent and A. F. of L. unions which preceded the *United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America*, C. I. O., (UCAPAWA), *Compazinos*, a Mexican workers' organization and the *Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Union*. She was the international representative of UCAPAWA until 1938 or 1939.

Miss Ray described her difficulties in Imperial Valley and admitted having served six months in the Imperial County jail as the result of the lettuce strike in 1933-1934. Although she had been an active Communist continuously for over 10 years, she stated that she had never registered as a voter in the Communist Party. She stated that she dropped out of the Communist Party and the *Young Communist League* work because she had become practically exhausted from her 10 years' strenuous labors. She stated that she had never subscribed to the *Western Worker* or the *People's Daily World* but that she read the *Monthly Communist* faithfully.

She identified a picture of herself taken on the fire escape of the Communist Party headquarters in Oakland on Franklin Street in which she held two placards, one carrying the slogan "Join the Communist Party" and the other "Stop Police Brutality."

Your committee found Miss Ray an exceedingly clever witness. She frankly stated that she would not indulge in "Communist-baiting" and spoke from time to time of "We Internationalists." (P. 1842.) She asserted that the Soviet Union had abolished the exploitation of man by man and had set up a classless society. She believed that it was in

the interest of the United States to defend the Soviet Union. She stated that she did not believe the testimony of the "stool pigeons who appear before these committees," and believes them to be pathological liars. In speaking of the dictatorship exercised in Russia by Stalin, she stated that "there is a distinction between *good* dictatorship and *bad* dictatorship." She told the committee that she thought the committee desired her to "red-bait" but that she would protect the others in the Communist Party with her. She did so meticulously.

In October of 1938 Miss Ray was sent to Bakersfield by the International of UCAPAWA to handle the cotton strike in progress there at that time. She spoke in Arvin, Palmo, Shafter, Button Willow and other places. She was county organizer of *Labor's Non-Partisan League* in Los Angeles County in 1939 though, paradoxically, she stated that she was never a member of the league. As a further paradox, she testified, that she attended the Third Annual Convention of *Labor's Non-Partisan League* held June 22, 1940, as an executive board member. She spoke to the membership of Local 78, of the Orange Pickers Local, in Orange County in July of 1940. She was in Orange County on the vegetable strike in 1938 for UCAPAWA. She admitted having participated in citrus strikes in Orange County in August, 1938, for UCAPAWA.

Miss Ray is a Deputy Labor Commissioner in San Francisco under H. C. Carrasco. The head of this department is George C. Kidwell, an Olson appointee. The committee learned that Miss Ray had secured this position through a civil service examination. A quotation of hers from the oral examination held for the position of Deputy Labor Commissioner, February 10, 1940, by the State Personnel Board was read to Miss Ray, as follows: "Particularly in those years, 1934, Imperial Valley was well known for lawlessness. I'm not ashamed of having served a jail sentence. I didn't violate any law that I would recognize as a law." Miss Ray examined this statement and said that she did not recall testifying before the Personnel Board in such a manner. She concluded her testimony by stating that her husband, Don Healy, was now "organizing for a union."

It is quite evident, even from the foregoing brief outline of typical examples, that the *Congress of Industrial Organization* is much more susceptible to Communist Party penetration and control than is the *American Federation of Labor*. Several reasons may be advanced to account for this fact. First, the *American Federation of Labor*, led for many years by loyal American working-men fully convinced of the greatness of American democracy and its institutions, successfully withstood the early shocks of the Communist assault. Experienced in labor matters, the *American Federation of Labor's* leadership has gone forward steadily along legal and democratic lines. Its broad objectives are in accord with Constitutional Government and the traditions of the United States. While it seeks better working conditions and a higher standard of living it is vitally concerned with the preservation of the Government and the American system which has, in fact, established the best working conditions and the highest standard of living in the history of the world. The *Congress for Industrial Organization*, on the other hand, created by John L. Lewis in the midst of the Nation's greatest economic depression, is young and inexperienced.

Lewis, while lambasting Communism and its attempts to capture labor prior to 1935, did not hesitate to use Communist agitators and the Communist Party in organizing his rival organization after his split with the *American Federation of Labor*. The growth of the C. I. O. was an unhealthy one in its first few years of existence and largely was a paper organization. Few of its recruits actually paid dues or assessments. Being loosely-knit and arbitrarily thrown together in the beginning, it was an easy matter for the Communists to control many of its locals and councils.

The committee would not want anyone to believe that the rank-and-file members of the *Congress for Industrial Organization* are Communists or sympathetic to Communism. It is well known that the great majority of the members of the C. I. O. in California deeply resent the Communist domination of the organization and that they would like to correct the situation. This is a much more difficult task than would be imagined at first glance. The C. I. O. has many bargaining contracts and the members are, in many cases, economically silenced. Many illustrations might be given here of attempted "house cleanings" in which the daring leaders of such a movement were rewarded by expulsion from the union and their jobs. The cases of Hugh Ben Inzer and A. H. Webber are set forth in detail in the committee's transcripts of testimony and touched upon in this report.

In spite of the firm stand taken by *American Federation of Labor* leaders in the past, your committee believes that the Communist Party is making considerable progress in its penetration of certain of its federations, its labor councils and its local unions. Certain staunch old-time leaders still block the battered drawbridges of their trade union citadels but the Trojan Horse is awaiting the moment when the heavy guns of disguised Communist batteries blast them aside.

## 10

### FRONT ORGANIZATIONS AND TRANSMISSION BELTS

We have detailed at some length the operation and organization of Communist Party fractions in labor organizations and the clever technique used in expanding closed Communist fraction-caucuses into larger meetings to which carefully selected non-Communist Party union members are invited. Such mixed meetings, carefully planned and controlled, are usually called "Progressive Trade Union" meetings. The non-Communist members, of course, are entirely unaware of the fact that the decisions made by them in these "Progressive" meetings were planned beforehand and cleverly "democratically" executed in the so-called "Progressive" meetings. This same technique is used in the creation of "front" organizations, or "transmission belts," as they are referred to by the Communists themselves. In order to thoroughly to understand this technique, we outline the approved method of the Communist Party in setting up a typical "transmission belt" or front organization.

1. The Comintern strategists chart certain targets in capitalist economy and orders are issued for their destruction.
2. The strategy committees of the Communist Party scattered throughout the world, acting on orders from the Comintern, search

about for a popular prejudice, a real or fancied abuse of the broadest possible magnitude. Having once settled on a popular prejudice or abuse behind which their real purposes may be screened, Communist Party members everywhere are instructed to form appropriate organizations. The popular prejudice, fear or economic condition readily presents a variety of organizations purportedly designed to "remedy" the particular situation. It may be fear of a world war, rise of dictators, an economic depression with attendant distress and unemployment or it may be a rising cost-of-living.

3. Closed Communist fractions all over the country discuss the orders from the executive committee. The National executive committee has usually set up a National organization, so that little is left to local comrades, other than forming a chapter of the National organization in order to give the entire movement the appearance of spontaneous demand on the part of all the people. Resolutions, motions, proclamations and activities are all ready-made for the comrades in the closed Communist caucuses. Fellow-travelers, innocents, ambitious labor leaders and politicians are contacted as petition-signers to call mass meetings for the consideration of the formation of the movement. Real Communist Party members meticulously refrain from affixing their signatures as sponsoring the new movement.

4. A call for the first meeting is issued, signed by many fellow-travelers, innocents and political-climbers.

5. The meeting is called to order at the specified hour and place, usually by some well known person whose Americanism has never been questioned, and who probably is, in fact, unconscious that he is being used by a subversive group. He has been sold a bill of goods on the movement.

6. Each member of the Communist Party caucus charged with the responsibility of launching the organization, has been assigned a list of non-Communist individuals whom he has invited to the meeting. The Communist Party members spread themselves throughout the meeting-hall and prompt non-Communist members with whom they have struck up a friendship to make right motions and offer prepared resolutions at the proper time. The most prominent non-Communist person present is usually selected beforehand as the one who will be the chairman of the organization. The selection of the secretary, however, is a very different matter. Only a trusted and disciplined Communist may have this position. A Communist Party member is always selected.

Thus, a new "transmission belt front organization" is launched. The non-Communist members feel that they have contributed something toward the general welfare of the community and the people by their participation in the new organization. They are out to fight Fascism; they are on record against war and they are determined to preserve democracy. Perhaps they have taken an active step toward combating Nazism and Hitler. It may be that they feel they have taken an important step in drawing the divergent branches of labor into one great organization for the betterment of *all* labor. Whatever the non-Communist may believe and feel when he leaves such a meeting, the result is always much the same. He makes financial contributions

from time to time to the organization and receives its bulletins, periodicals and newspapers and more or less forgets about the whole thing. He is too busy making a living to attend many of the subsequent meetings. The officers and the board of directors take care of the details. The board of directors is soon completely in the hands of the Communist Party and the agitation is then carried on from that point for the purposes of the Comintern.

With the invasion of Hollywood by the Communist Party came the inevitable myriad front organizations, utterly controlled and dominated by the Communist Party, but, in most cases, drawing into their membership lists pseudo liberals, parlor pinks, innocents and a great many people who just simply did not know any better. We have elsewhere related the history of the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League* and its ubiquitous V. J. Jerome. In addition, were the *Pen and Hammer Club*, the *Hollywood League for Democratic Action*, the *Hollywood League for Women Shoppers*, the *Old John Reed Club*, the *Hollywood Theatre Alliance*, the *Hollywood Mooney Defense Committee*, the *American Writers' Congress*, *Hollywood Unit of the League Against War and Fascism*, *Spanish Relief Committee*, the *League for Peace and Democracy* and many, many others. Pulling the strings and setting the policy of all of these organizations were Communist individuals well known to your committee as members of the Trojan Horse Cavalry. These organizations, and many others, are listed and analyzed in detail in the files of the committee, together with personnel, leaders and activities.

Hollywood is a veritable mecca for the Communist cultural clique. Your committee has gathered voluminous information on this phase of Communist infiltration.

"Our party members are to be found in the widest variety of mass organizations," declared Earl Browder. "In the trade unions of the A. F. of L., C. I. O. \* \* \* the *National Negro Congress*; in the farm, cultural, fraternal, religious, professional and other organizations, and those of National groups." (*The Democratic Front*, a report by Earl Browder to the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America on May 28, 1938, page 69.)

The testimony and record of activities of Reuben W. Borough, left no doubt in the minds of the members of your committee as to his close Communist fellow-traveling proclivities. He may be termed an ardent "Anti-Red-Baiter." He has been active in most Communist front organizations in California. In 1937 he was vice chairman for the Southern District of the *California Committee for Political Unity*. In 1938, he sponsored a \$60,000 drive for the *People's Daily World*, Communist Party publication in California. In 1939, he was a sponsor of the *Second Annual California Model Legislature* to be held in Sacramento. This Model Legislature was a Communist-inspired youth movement. He appeared, in 1939, on the list of subscribers to the *People's Daily World*. In 1940, he was a sponsor of the *Conference for Democratic Action* which was held in Fresno. This organization is reported as one to replace the former Communist dominated and controlled *American League for Peace and Democracy*. He is presently commissioner of public works, appointed by Mayor Fletcher Bowron in the City of Los Angeles.

Borough admits having been a member of the Socialist Party and having carried a "red card" in Chicago. He admits being a member of the *American Civil Liberties Union*, and other Communist dominated front organizations. He stated that he did not know and *did not care* whether certain individuals were Communists or not and he denied that the Communist Party had any purpose in the overthrowing of the Government of the United States. He admitted knowing many prominent Communists in Los Angeles and stated that they were not a danger to our Democracy and more or less looked upon Communism and the "labor movement" as synonymous. He knew William Schneiderman, State Secretary of the Communist Party, and admitted attending a testimonial dinner for the Communist attorney, Leo Gallagher, in 1941. He told the committee that he had the "highest respect" for the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*, C. I. O., a Communist controlled C. I. O. union for infiltration into governmental positions.

When questioned as to a so-called "emergency conference to halt the blackout of civil liberties in California" held Saturday, April 5, 1941 at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles, Borough at first denied that he had acted as substitute chairman in place of Carey McWilliams, who had been previously advertised as the chairman for that meeting. (The so-called "Blackout of Civil Liberties" was a protest meeting against Assembly Bill 271 then pending in the Assembly, introduced by Assemblyman Lee T. Bashore, Assemblyman James H. Phillips, and Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney, subsequently enacted into the law and under which Robert Noble and Ellis O. Jones and others were convicted in Sacramento.) Returning to the witness stand later, Borough admitted having acted as substitute chairman for Carey McWilliams at the time and place above stated. He admitted knowing Jack Moore, secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, Louis Goldblatt, of the C. I. O., Carey McWilliams, James Burford and Ramon Welch of the *Spanish Speaking Congress*.

The *American Civil Liberties Union* may be definitely classed as a Communist front or "transmission belt" organization. At least 90 per cent of its efforts are expended on behalf of Communists who come into conflict with the law. While it professes to stand for free speech, a free press and free assembly, it is quite obvious that its main function is to protect Communists in their activities of force and violence in their program to overthrow the government.

Ellis O. Jones admitted being a member of the executive board of the *American Civil Liberties Union*. (Volume III, pp. 744-760.) He stated that he became a director of this organization in either 1933 or 1934. He did not know, at the time of testifying (Volume X, pp. 2489-2528), whether or not he still was a member of the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee*, although he admitted having been a member at one time. He believes that the civil liberties of Schneiderman and Darcy have been violated. He testified that he had never met with the committee but that he had seen several pieces of publicity of the *American Civil Liberties Union* containing his name. He stated that he had never received a communication from William Schneiderman in reference to removing him from the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee*. He could not recall an occasion on which the *American*

*Civil Liberties Union* interested itself in the civil liberties of members of the *German-American Bund* or the organization itself.

The *Communist International* magazine for January of 1934 at page 78, declares: "Our most successful application of the United Front has been in the anti-war and anti-Fascism movement. We led a highly successful U. S. Congress Against War. \* \* \* which brought together 2,616 delegates from all over the country. \* \* \* The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly. \* \* \* The Congress set up a permanent organization on 'federative basis called the *American League Against War and Fascism*'. " Naturally, the anti-war aspect of the organization has been its greatest bait to peace-loving Americans. It has permitted the representatives of the organization to penetrate churches and fraternal groups and thus to align them with the Communist Party. The usual technique of Communist caucuses expanded into front organizations, constituting the transmission belt for Communist Party indoctrination is used in this organization as in all others.

In November of 1937, the *American League Against War and Fascism* suddenly was changed to the *American League for Peace and Democracy*. It is significant that the *Canadian League Against War and Fascism* almost simultaneously became the *Canadian League for Peace and Democracy*. Out of the Comintern in 1932 came the Amsterdam World Congress. The *World Committee Against War* came out of the Amsterdam World Congress. In 1933 the *World Committee Against War* gave birth to the *American Committee for the Struggle Against War*. In September of 1933, the *American Committee for the Struggle Against War* created a *National Organizing Committee for the First United States Congress Against War*. In October of 1933, the *American League Against War and Fascism* blossomed out of the *First United States Congress Against War*.

The *American Peace Crusade* was organized during the Stalin-Hitler collaboration, in June of 1940. The Los Angeles meeting was called by the *Los Angeles C. I. O. Industrial Union Council*, the *California Youth Legislature* and the *Hollywood Peace Forum* and was supported by *Labors Non-Partisan League*. (*People's Daily World*, June 6, 1940.) The sponsors of this organization included the *National Legal Conference*, *Workers Alliance*, *Labors Non-Partisan League*, *California Youth Legislature*, Joseph Curran of the *National Maritime Union*, Theodore Dreiser, Jack McMichael of the *American Youth Congress*, Louis Goldblatt, Secretary of the *California State C. I. O. Industrial Union Council*, Herbert Biberman, and numerous other organizations and individuals. (*People's Daily World*, July 5, 1940.) A Nation-wide conference of the *American Peace Crusade* was held in Chicago on August 31, to September 1, 1940. At this time a new organization was created which became known as the *American Peace Mobilization*. It was then announced that the *American Peace Mobilization* would take the place of the defunct *American League for Peace and Democracy*.

The *International Workers' Order* is an important Communist front organization. Philip Gardner, the executive secretary of the *Los Angeles Council* of this transmission belt, testified before the committee February 24, 1942. (Volume IX, pages 2774-2790.) Gardner admitted that he was a member of the Communist Party and that he

had been connected with the *International Workers' Order* since 1932. He admitted knowing Max Bedacht, National secretary of the *International Workers' Order* and one time editor of the *Monthly Communist* magazine. Gardner stated that there are 30 lodges of the *International Workers' Order* in the southern California district and that most of the lodges meet in public halls and hold benefits from time to time for the *People's Daily World*, the official Communist Party organ on the West Coast. He stated that the *International Workers' Order* is headed by a general executive board and that Herbert Benjamin is a member of this board. The requirements laid down for eligibility to become a member of the *International Workers' Order*, Gardner told the committee, were principally that the applicant be sympathetic to labor; that anti-labor individuals, "scabs," "strike-breakers" or "Fascists" were not eligible. Membership in a labor union, however, Gardner stated, was not necessary. The "International" designation of the *Workers' Order*, Gardner testified, had no relationship to other countries and only referred to races. He stated that the *International Workers' Order* had about 3,500 members in southern California. He admitted, under examination, that he had joined the Communist Party in Seattle in 1937 but had not belonged to the *Young Communist League*. He admitted having received a Communist Party book but stated that he had not received his 1939 book and, like all Communist Party functionaries and *front men*, he could not remember the person from whom he received his book. The committee reports that there is no doubt whatsoever of the Communist domination and control of the *International Workers' Order*.

Undercover information in possession of the committee indicates that Philip Gardner is the president or chairman of the Los Angeles County branch of the Communist Party.

George E. Bodle may be classed as one of California's so-called labor attorneys. (Volume IX, pp. 2799-2808.) He is a graduate of Stanford University Law School and was admitted to the California Bar in 1934. His wife is Alice Ingraham. Bodle was not certain whether or not his wife had taught in the Workers' School in Los Angeles, although he did not believe that she had. Bodle had been associated with Henry Melnikow in the *Pacific Labor Bureau*, San Francisco, from 1937 until November of 1939. He met Melnikow through a San Francisco attorney by the name of Robert Littler. The purported work of the *Pacific Labor Bureau* was the gathering of economic and statistical information for trade unions and representing them in negotiations. Bodle is acquainted with Jeff Kibre and met him while he was associated with the *Pacific Labor Bureau*. He also is acquainted with Norval Crutcher, Sam Goldblatt, Carey McWilliams and he was associated with Charles Katz in a trial in 1938. He has known Leo Gallagher since about 1938.

Bodle, at the time of testifying, stated that he was the attorney for the *Union Guild Council* which had been formed from independent Hollywood unions in 1940 or 1941. His work, in this connection, was not for the council as such but as the legal representative for certain of the Guilds which form the council. He is also the attorney for the *Screen Office Employees Guild*, now a local of the *Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America*. Local 644 is also a Local of this Brotherhood. Bodle stated that he had known Herbert

Sorrell, business agent for Local 644, for two years. He was familiar with the *Screen Readers Guild*, *Screen Publicists Guild* and the *Screen Writers' Guild*. He admitted knowing Don Gordon, Ella Winter, Guy Endore, Herbert Biberman and Viola Brothers Shore. He admitted knowing Kenneth McGowan of the *Screen Directors' Guild*. He met Frank Tuttle in 1938 when the *Unemployment Conference of Craft Unions* was being set up in Hollywood. In the *Screen Actors Guild* he knew Gale Sondergaard. He admitted knowing Dave Hilberman and Charlottie Darling in the *Screen Cartoonists Guild*. He concluded his testimony by stating that he had never noticed or observed any Communistic influence in any of the unions he represented.

Indicative of collaboration with the Communist Party and the faithful fellow-traveling of certain alleged labor leaders, is Herbert K. Sorrell, who testified in Los Angeles July 31, 1941. (Volume II, pp. 452-474.) He testified that he was the business representative of the *Motion Picture Painters*, Local 644, of the *American Federation of Labor*. The committee is in possession of a photostatic copy of Sorrell's application to join the Communist Party in which he used the name *Stewart*. Sorrell denied that he had ever used such name, although under close examination, he admitted that his mother's maiden name was Daisy Frances Stewart. He denied that he was a member of the Communist Party and stated that he knew nothing of the Communist Party Convention held in Los Angeles in April-May, 1938. He freely admitted that he followed the Communist Party Line when he thought it was "all right," although he stated that Paul Cline and Jack Moore came to him at a time when he was trying to raise the per capita tax of his union and told him that he was "going against the Communist Party Line." (p. 471.)

The activities of Sorrell over a period of years is well known to the committee. He has served as A. F. of L. "window dressing" for most of Southern California Communist front organizations, such as *California Conference for Democratic Action*, *Labors' Non-Partisan League*, *Motion Picture Democratic Committee* and the *American Peace Mobilization*. He has been a consistent subscriber to the *People's Daily World*. His name is carried on the letterhead of the *Harry Bridges' Defense Committee*. In 1940 he was the State President of *Labors' Non-Partisan League*. The letterhead of the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee* contained his name in January of 1940. In July of 1940 he appeared as an officer in the *American Peace Crusade*. On November 2, 1942, he headed a committee of alleged Democrats endorsing and supporting Mrs. La Rue McCormick, Communist Party candidate for State Senate from the Thirty-eighth Senatorial District. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee of the close association and fellow-traveler status in the Communist Party of Herbert K. Sorrell.

Helen Wheeler was elected a delegate from Local 91 of the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America* (SCMWA) to the advisory committee of the *California Youth Legislature* in 1937. (Volume VI, pp. 1875-1882.) At that time, Miss Wheeler was a case aide in the State Relief Administration in Oakland. She was acquainted with James Burford and knew that he presided over the sessions of the *California Youth Legislature*. Miss Wheeler has held

three positions in the *California Youth Legislature*, State Financial Director, Legislative Chairman and finally the Northern California Chairman. When testifying she was still holding the position of Northern California Chairman. She told the committee that the purpose of the *California Youth Legislature* was to bring together all types of youth for the discussion of mutual problems. She admitted that the *American Students Union* was a participating organization in the *California Youth Legislature*. She admitted knowing Herbert Biberman, Philip Connelly, Louis Goldblatt, Carey McWilliams, Hubert Phillips and Wyndham Mortimer. She denied ever having been affiliated with the Communist Party but admitted that she knew that the *Young Communist League* was represented in the *California Youth Legislature* and that there were some 12 delegates from the *Young Communist League* at the 1940 Convention of the *Youth Legislature* held in Los Angeles.

The *People's Daily World* of August 30, 1941, carried a story to the effect that Helen Wheeler was one of the sponsors for a State-wide conference on civil rights to be held in San Francisco, September 27, 1941, for the purpose of protesting the "Tenney Committee and the Tenney Bill Outlawing the Communist Party." In the issue of August 10, 1940, the *People's Daily World* stated that William Plunkert had shifted Miss Wheeler from the *California Youth Legislature* to the *Peace Mobilization*, California Unit, for special work.

The *American Peace Mobilization* was a Communist front organization created shortly after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact. About this time the *Anti-Nazi League of Hollywood* and other anti-Fascist front organizations of the Communist Party went out of business and Peace Congresses throughout the country generally, and the *American Peace Mobilization* in California particularly, came into being practically over night. Among the witnesses called to testify in reference to the *American Peace Mobilization* were Reuben W. Borough, Frederick Langton, Bert Leech, Jack Moore, William Schneiderman and Helen Wheeler.

Mrs. Edward Suchman testified in Los Angeles July 29, 1941. (Volume I, pp. 222-232.) Mrs. Suchman stated that Reuben Borough had been elected the first president of the *American Federation for Political Unity*, a Communist front organization, and that the Communists in this group masqueraded as "progressives." She stated that Don Healy, of *Labor's Non-Partisan League* and Rube Borough were the controlling elements in this front organization. Mrs. Suchman flatly named the *American Peace Mobilization* as another Communist front, completely following the Communist Party Line in the Spring of 1941. She stated that Professor Norman Byrne, of Los Angeles City College, was active in this group. She concluded her testimony concerning Reuben Borough by stating that she had told him that he had been taken over "boots and britches" by the Communists.

Strange as it may seem, the committee discovered that Ellis O. Jones, co-editor of the *Friends of Progress*, was also a member of the *American Civil Liberties Union* together with William Schneiderman and A. L. Wirin, Los Angeles attorney.

Louise R. Bransten of San Francisco was subpoenaed before the committee. She testified that she was a secretary of the *Civil Rights*

*Council for Northern California.* Prior to the calling of Louise R. Bransten before the committee in San Francisco a pamphlet had been distributed throughout the State by various mediums and particularly with the distribution of the Communist Party's Pacific Coast organ, *The People's Daily World*. The title of this pamphlet was *Your Rights Before the Tenney Committee*. Louise R. Bransten admitted having written part of this pamphlet with the assistance of members of the *Civil Rights Council*, members of the *Lawyers' Guild* and George Olshausen. The pamphlet was printed with donations collected from members of the *Civil Rights Council* and similar front organizations. Miss Bransten stated that the purpose of the pamphlet was to protect the unions, intimating that the committee was concerned with breaking up trade unionism in California. The testimony of Louise R. Bransten left no doubt in the minds of the members of your committee as to her Communist Party relationship and of the Communist domination of the so-called *Civil Rights Council for Northern California*.

Miss Bransten testified that the *Civil Rights Council for Northern California* was a branch of the *National Federation for Constitutional Liberties* with headquarters in Washington, D. C. She stated that the purpose of the National organization branches was to protest against and to bring pressure against the curtailment of civil liberties and violation of the Bill of Rights. She stated that the organization, in defending violations of civil liberties and the Bill of Rights, selected those cases which it considered the most important.

She further testified that the organization was founded in 1936 and was called, at that time, the *Academic and Civil Rights Council of California*. It was started by Edward Gallagher and a group of people in San Francisco to combat vigilantism such as existed, she alleged, on the San Francisco waterfront in 1934. The *Academic and Civil Rights Council of California* died out in 1937 and in 1938 Gallagher and others attempted to revive it. In 1939 or early in 1940 initial meetings were held to create the present organization, *Civil Rights Council of Northern California*, and Gallagher was elected chairman and Miss Bransten, secretary. Its first activities were directed toward combating the passage of a bill in the Legislature outlawing the Communist Party. It was in behalf of this activity that Miss Bransten first appeared in Sacramento before the committees of the Legislature deliberating on the outlawing of the Communist Party.

Miss Bransten's maiden name was Rosenberg and under this name she went to Russia in 1933.

William Schneiderman, secretary of the Communist Party of California, testified (Volume V, pp. 1260-1342) that he did not believe that the *American Civil Liberties Union* should rush to the defense of "enemies."

The *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee* was created early in 1940 for the defense of William Schneiderman, California State Secretary of the Communist Party, and Sam Darcy, the former district organizer of the Communist Party in California.

Schneiderman became a naturalized citizen at the age of 21. At the time of his naturalization, he was a member of the Communist

Party and concealed this fact in his application and examination. Subsequently his citizenship was revoked and he has appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. Senator Robert W. Kenny acted as his counsel in California and Wendell Willkie volunteered his legal services for Schneiderman before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Sam Darcy was a candidate for Governor of California on the Communist ticket in 1934. At that time he swore that Sam Darcy was his true name and that his place of birth was New York. Subsequently Darcy was named a delegate to the Comintern Congress in Moscow and when he applied for a passport, he made an affidavit to the effect that he had been born in the Ukraine, Russia. His true name was Samuel Dardeck. He was ultimately indicted for perjury by a San Francisco grand jury and was sought throughout the United States for several years. In 1938 he was an organizer for the Communist Party in the State of Minnesota and was later located in Pennsylvania as the district organizer for the Communist Party in that area. Extradition proceedings were instituted and he was returned to California for trial. His case is also on appeal.

Among the sponsors of the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee* are George Andersen and Leo Gallagher, attorneys for the Communist Party, Carey McWilliams, A. L. Wirin and other attorneys of similar reputation.

The committee launched a drive for funds and sought to sell "Civil Liberty Bonds" in denominations of \$1, \$5, \$10, and \$25.

The *National Student League*, the *Farm Labor Party*, *American Youth Congress*, *Anti-War Committee*, *Anti-R.O.T.C. Committee*, *International Labor Defense* and the *National Lawyers' Guild* are all Communist front organizations. Many witnesses were examined concerning these organizations, their officers and members, their ostensible purposes and hidden objectives. Nearly every witness connected even remotely with any of these organizations was closely questioned and committee representatives secured much documentary material, pamphlets and circulars issued by these, and similar organizations.

The *National Lawyers' Guild* came into being early in 1937 and was reportedly a lawyers' group in opposition to the *American Bar Association*. Many Communist attorneys in California and in the United States assisted in the formation of this group and the *American Civil Liberties Union* is also represented. Carol Weiss King, a former stockholder in the *Daily Worker*, the official Communist publication for the East Coast, Leo Gallagher, who has represented the Communist Party of California as well as many Communist defendants, Charles J. Katz, sponsor of the *Harry Bridges Defense Committee* and the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League*, Loren Miller, Negro Communist and former staff editor of *New Masses*, a magazine published by the Communist Party, Aubrey Grossman and others are California members of the *National Lawyers' Guild*.

On June 5, 1940, A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, resigned from the *National Lawyers' Guild*, charging that the leadership of the organization is not prepared "to take any stand which conflicts with the Communist Party Line." Many other attorneys have resigned from the *National Lawyers' Guild* because of its Communist

domination and control. The Attorney General of California, Robert W. Kenny, is serving his second term as the president of the *National Lawyers' Guild*.

Among those subpoenaed and carefully examined on these organizations, their origin, activities, expressed objectives and hidden motives was Aubrey Grossman of the San Francisco law firm of Gladstein, Grossman, Margolis and Sawyer. (Volume VII, pp. 2039-2043.) Grossman testified that he had graduated from the law school of the University of California in 1935 and from the University of California, Los Angeles, in the Winter of 1932. He stated he was admitted to the practice of law in May, 1936. He denied that he had ever affiliated with the *Young Communist League* or the Communist Party or that he had attended a Communist Party State convention at its headquarters in San Francisco or at any other place. He admitted knowing Miles Humphrey, James Burford and Leo Gallagher.

On May 3, 1941, Aubrey Grossman signed a petition addressed to President Roosevelt and to the members of Congress urging them to exercise their influence and authority in defense of the constitutional rights of the Communist Party. Aubrey Grossman is a member of the *National Lawyers' Guild*, a Communist front organization. He is one of Harry Bridges' attorneys. He has been known by the aliases of Aubrey Whitney Grossman and Aubrey Gross.

Grossman's record is a long and interesting one. In 1934 he attended an anti-R.O.T.C. meeting at the University. He appeared as the speaker at protest meetings held at Sather Gate at the University in Berkeley. He was active in the so-called Students Strike at the University, a strike which was sponsored and promoted by the Communist Party working at that time, through the Communist *National Student League*. On July 3, 1935, he participated in a meeting at Sather Gate called to induce the students to proceed to San Francisco to take part in the "Bloody Thursday" parade. John Delaney Shoemaker, a well known Communist, was also a speaker at this meeting. The parade was held July 5, 1935. In 1936, Grossman was active in the *Farm Labor Party*, sponsored, if not actually organized, by the Communist Party of the United States and actively supported by all Communist publications, including the *Daily Worker* and the *Western Worker*. He was actively associated with most of the meetings sponsored by the *National Student League*, *Student Rights Association*, *Social Problems Club*, *American Youth Congress*, *Anti-War Committee*, and the *Anti-R.O.T.C. Committee Youth Section*, all of which organizations are well known Communist fronts. When Grossman applied for admission to the State Bar of California, the American Legion filed an official protest. The *Western Worker*, Communist West Coast publication (predecessor of the *People's Daily World*), of July 6, 1936, announced Grossman as a member of the *International Labor Defense*, a typical Communist front. He was one of the defense committees for Earl King later convicted in Alameda County in connection with the ship murder of Chief Engineer George Alberts. The minutes of the Communist Party convention held in San Francisco May 14-15, 1937, report that Grossman was elected a member of the State committee of the Communist Party and that he pledged himself to recruit 10 new members into the party.

Both Miles G. Humphrey (Vol. V, pp. 1616-1631) and Don Morton (Vol. VI, pp. 1783-1794), former members of the Communist Party, testified that Aubrey Grossman was a member of the Communist Party.

The Communist character of the *American Youth Congress* is well established by the following authoritative quotations:

"Comrades of Young Communist League of the U. S., headed by Comrade Green, went to the American Youth Congress and achieved a great success. The Congress was 'transformed' into a great united front of radical youth. And when, somewhat later, a second general Youth Congress was held, our young comrades already enjoyed a position of authority in it. The Communists alone have been able to foster the radicalization of the youth in the Bourgeois organization." (Otto Kuusinen, president of Red Government of Finland, in address to Seventh World Congress of the Comintern at Moscow.)

"Before 3,000 delegates and visitors to the Second American Youth Congress, Clarence Hathaway, Editor of the Daily Worker and representative of the Communist Party, declared that the Communist Party stands behind the Congress, will do everything in its power to build its support and hailed the progress toward unity achieved by the Y.C.L. and young Socialist leagues." (Daily Worker, July 8, 1935.)

## 11

### CONSUMER FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

The *People's Front* was inaugurated by the Communist International (Comintern) in 1934 and was later ratified in 1935 by the Seventh World Congress which was held in Moscow. The *People's Front* was a technique designed to secure mass participation from the so-called middle classes. As part and parcel of the *People's Front* movement came organizations designated as *Consumer Leagues*, *Consumer Councils*, *Consumer Guilds*, et cetera.

The first of these consumer organizations, Communist inspired and therefore Communist dominated and controlled, was the so-called *League of Women Shoppers*. While the *League of Women Shoppers* was concerned with the consumer movement, its chief purpose was to create mass feminine support in labor disputes. The former editor of the *New Pioneer*, an official publication of the Communist Party for children, Miss Helen Kay was the first secretary of the *League of Women Shoppers*. She was assigned to the *League of Women Shoppers* in Hollywood.

Among those identified with the Communist Party's *Consumers' Unions and Leagues* are Arthur Kallet, Colston Warne, Susan Jenkins, Walter Trumbull, Robert Brady, Jerome Davis, A. J. Isserman, Kathryn McInerney, Adelaide Schulkind, Goodwin Watson and A. Phillip Randolph. Harry Bridges was among the sponsors of the West Coast section of the *Consumers' Union* when it was organized in 1938.

The consumer movement undoubtedly had its roots in legitimate dissatisfaction, and developed during the last decade from the rather vague interest of a few scattered women's groups. During the years of its early growth, the movement was primarily a medium of information for the consumer. Nearly all of the original bona fide organizations,

long interested in consumer problems, continue in their sincere effort to march toward goals originally set. With the establishment of Communist *People's Fronts* the consumer movement presented an ideal set-up for Stalin's agents. It was therefore an easy matter for these conniving propaganda experts to carry the authority, the prestige and the sanction of the respectable, legitimate and thoroughly American consumer movement over to Communist design and purpose, thus making Communist design and purpose respectable and acceptable. The sudden growth and increase of "consumer organizations" gave the entire consumer problem the impetus of a "movement." While the Communist Party Consumer Fronts are ostensibly for the purpose of serving the interest of the consumer, they are, like all kindred fronts, designed to further the Communist Party in its attack upon the Government and the present economy. Under the cloak of a legitimate consumer movement the Communist Party consumer front organizations are attempting to discredit and smear American business. The legitimate consumer movement in the United States is a set-up for the Trojan Horse Cavalrymen.

The Communist Party loudly proclaims its interest in collective bargaining in order to expand its influence and to control trade unions. In the United States the Communist Party hypocritically professes an interest in peace and in democracy for the purpose of bringing members of the middle class under the influence of the Comintern. By use of these same tactics, the Communist Party expresses concern for the consumer for the purpose of tearing down the institutions of capitalist society and establishing in their places the dictatorship of the Proletariat. All front organizations, as has been amply demonstrated by evidence before the committee, and heretofore detailed in length in this report, are composed of Communist and non-Communist members. In most cases the majority of the members of a front organization are not members of the Communist Party nor are they even Communist sympathizers. We have heretofore detailed the technique used in guiding and dominating the front organizations by Communist Party fractions. The same technique is used in all front organizations. The non-Communist members are drawn into such groups by the *professed* aims of the organization and then directed by the Communist nucleus creating and guiding the organization into Communist Party activity and purposes. The front organizations are referred to by the Communists themselves as "transmission belts" and this term thoroughly describes the purposes behind such organizations. Consumer groups particularly attract women of the great middle class who are interested in the cost and quality of the things they buy. Hence it is, particularly in these groups, that the majority of the members are not members of the Communist Party or even Communist sympathizers. They are attracted to the movement by *professed aims*.

One of the now proved standard tactics of the Communist Party in "transmission belt" front organizations is to place one of their most trusted members in the office of the secretary of the organization. The committee has learned that wherever the secretary of an organization is a member of the Communist Party, or sympathetic to it, then the organization readily falls into the category of "transmission belt."

All such secretaries are, of course, under the discipline of the Communist Party.

The committee finds that the *League of Women Shoppers* in California is a Communist front organization. It has been associated in many meetings and demonstrations with such well known Communist "transmission belts" as the *American League for Peace and Democracy*, the *American Friends of the Chinese People*, and the *Progressive Women's Council*. Among the directors and sponsors of the *League of Women Shoppers* have been such well known Communist Party members and fellow-travelers as Clarine Michelson, Louise Thompson, Leane Zugsmigh and Tess Slesinger.

Prior to 1935 the Communist Party did not believe that the protest of consumers against various abuses of the capitalist system was a true revolutionary force, but, on the contrary, that it was merely a middle-class movement of a wholly *reformist* character. Arthur Kallet stated the matter very clearly: "Cooperation does provide a splendid escape from participation in the day-to-day struggles against the capitalist system; it permits a great many people to express their resentment by 'playing store.' But the emphasis is not on 'tomorrow a new society' but 'tomorrow maybe we'll be able to begin paying dividends.' As Consumer-Cooperatives are generally run they are a business, not a revolution."

The *Consumers' Union* was set up by Susan Jenkins, Arthur Kallet and Walter Trumbull. Miss Jenkins was formerly an employee of the *Daily Worker*, Communist publication. Walter Trumbull was court-martialed and sentenced to a term of 26 years as a Communist attempting to bore from within the United States Army, in 1925. He served three years of this term. From the beginning, Arthur Kallet has been the director of *Consumers' Union*. Other individuals connected with the *Consumers' Union* are Leroy Bowman, Winifred Chappell, Malcolm Cowley, Robert Dunn, Kate Crane Gartz, Elizabeth Gilman, Quincy Howe, Mathew Josephson, Horace M. Kallen, Rose Schneiderman, Anna Louise Strong, Osmond Fraenkel, John C. Packard, Louis Weinstock, Michael Quill and Ben Gold.

The *Consumers' Union* has used numerous publications of the Communist Party as a medium for advertising its *reports* and has always worked through its other "transmission belt" organizations. The *International Workers' Order's* official publication has carried articles by some members of the *Consumers' Union*.

The *Consumers' National Federation* is an apparently harmless group but it acts as a clearing house for the Communist interests in the consumer movement. It is a paper organization created by the Communist Party and used for the purpose of spreading propaganda in schools and through women's clubs. It was first known as the *Emergency Council* and was established as the *Consumers' National Federation*, 1937. No less a person than Earl Browder has named the *Consumers' National Federation* as one of the Communist Party's important "transmission belts." Miss Susan Jenkins is listed as a member of the executive committee of the *Consumers' National Federation*. The *Consumers' Emergency Council* no longer exists, having been taken over by the *Consumers' National Federation*, which emerged from it. Among the organizations sponsoring the early conferences of the *Consumers'*

National Federation were the *Consumers' Union*, *American Youth Congress*, *League of Women Shoppers*, *Progressive Women's Council* and the *Workers' Alliance*, all well known Communist Party "transmission belts." Miss Susan Jenkins is also the chairman for the *Milk Consumers' Protective Committee* and Meyer Parodneck is vice chairman of this committee. Rose Nelson, an avowed member of the Communist Party, was one of the organizers of the *Consumers' Protective Committee*. Susan Jenkins and Meyer Parodneck are among the most active leaders of the *Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperatives*. Among the directors of this organization are seven representatives of the *Consumers' National Federation*. Meyer Parodneck is president of this cooperative. James P. Reid, *International Workers' Order*, Max Bedacht, general secretary of the *International Workers' Order*, and Michael Quill, were among the sponsors of the *Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative*. The *City Action Committee Against the High Cost of Living* is another Communist front "transmission belt" in Los Angeles.

The American Communist has as his ultimate aim in the consumer movement the sabotage and destruction of advertising in America. He believes that through the destruction of advertising the party will be able to undermine and destroy the capitalist system of free-enterprise. Anti-advertising agitation is an important part of the frontal attack of the Communist on free-enterprise. This influence has been more and more reflected in Government circles as well as in large sections of the population which are wholly unconscious of any influence of Communist propaganda.

An investigation made by the Advertising Club of Los Angeles in collaboration with the Pacific Advertising Association in reference to certain "consumer books" revealed an amazing spread of Communist propaganda in this field, either wittingly or unwittingly. As a result of this investigation an effort was made to call the attention of the librarians and teachers organizations to the fact of Communist propaganda in this field. These works include such books as *One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs*, *Skin Deep*, *Counterfeit*, *Eat, Drink, and be Wary*, *Guinea Pigs No More*, etc. The Advertising Club of Los Angeles points out that business has certainly done many things subject to criticism and that no one is more aware of that than legitimate business interests. Better Business Bureaus have been created by legitimate business for the purpose of fighting fraudulent and misleading advertising and all legitimate business stands for truth in advertising, and has succeeded in placing statutes on the books of some 27 States in order to protect the consumer against fraudulent and illegitimate advertising. Of these books the Advertising Club of Los Angeles states:

"The temptation to exaggerate one's own point of view and to mislead is a human frailty, however, and is not limited to members of the advertising profession. Quack doctors disgrace the medical profession. The Bar Association has to take action against shyster lawyers. Nevertheless, the action of certain individual members is not a justification for an attack on the medical profession or the legal fraternity. Nor is there any validity in an attack on all business because of the derelictions of the few."

"The guinea pig books have in themselves committed the same sin of which they accuse advertisers—they have misled the people, magnified small fragments of truth until they were all out of proportion to the true picture, deliberately misleading readers by statements which imply that things *did* happen, although only stating that something *might* have happened—making it very difficult, if not impossible, for advertisers to attain proper redress."

The Advertisers Club of Los Angeles points out that it is an almost impossible task to expose the many exaggerations and untruths that abound in these books. *One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs*, by Kallet-Sehlink is typical of this type of propaganda and is undoubtedly the most widely read of all. The American Medical Association states: "The misconception of the authors relative to antiseptics are obvious to any medically-experienced reader." Not only the material contained in these books demands questioning but the motives which lie behind their authorship must also be scrutinized. Fulton Oursler says: "What is important to me is the real cause behind all this attack on advertising. To put it very plainly, I believe it is only a camouflage for the real objective—which is control of the means of production and distribution in the United States. When I think of advertising in relation to this whole picture, I see it as only one battlefield in an enveloping movement. It is an important battlefield because the elimination of advertising would result in the collapse of our entire system of competition, and would end the existence of the unsubsidized press in America." The Advertising Club of Los Angeles further points out that J. B. Matthews, who wrote the book *Partners in Plunder*, is a confessed Communist, and that Arthur Kallet, author of *Counterfeit* and co-author of *One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs* is also the executive director of *Consumers' Union* and has been labeled by Dies as a "professional Communist."

#### COMMUNIST PARTY CONSUMERS COUNCIL

Early in 1942 your committee became aware of the public manifestation of Communist work in the creation of Consumers' Councils and Leagues. Investigators of your committee had gathered considerable evidence indicating that this particular move of the Communist Party was under way. As an illustration of this plan of the Communist Party, we herewith quote from the *Communist*, a monthly publication of the Communist Party setting forth current *Lines and Policy* and the tactical steps to be taken for the practical application of same. We quote:

"While it is true that spontaneous movements against the high cost of living are developing here and there, under the initiative of women's organizations, the immediate problem before our party is to launch a powerful campaign that will mobilize the toiling people of the city and countryside—a campaign that must be developed on a local and State scale, at the same time that forces are set in motion nationally.

"The main issues and demands in the campaign must be made clear, and the broadest actions developed around them. These are, principally:

"1. That the purchasing power of the masses be increased through adequate wages and hours legislation by the Federal Government.

"2. That Federal and State administrations investigate the sharks controlling the most essential articles of consumption; that a legislative investigation be ordered of the meat packers, of the bread and milk trusts; that there be Federal regulation of high prices of food stuffs.

"3. That the municipalities be pressed to establish municipal milk stations, buying milk directly from the farmers and selling it to the consumer.

"Such a campaign against the high cost of living in every city should be brought to the workers in the shops, in the trade unions, to the people in all neighborhood communities. Such a campaign should unite for common action workers and various middle class elements. It should stimulate activity in rural areas.

"This places a great responsibility upon all party organizations—in particular, the branches, shop and industrial units. A drive against the high cost of living, to be effective, requires the mobilization of the party membership for concrete activity. The lower party organizations therefore become a major instrument for party leadership in the campaign.

"What can our branches and units actually do? How can our comrades participate?

"1. Call mass meetings in the neighborhood, special meetings of housewives, to rally the people generally.

"2. Contact community organizations for the purpose of calling community conferences or in other ways setting up community consumers' committees to lead the fight against the high cost of living. This issue affects everyone so vitally that it can become a most effective instrument for united action.

"3. Issue leaflets, special appeals to the population.

"4. The street branches can issue neighborhood papers and bulletins. The shop and industrial units should take up this problem in their shop papers.

"5. Mobilize mass organizations for independent as well as collective activity.

"6. Spread the Daily Worker and Sunday Worker, and other party papers. Follow their lead in organizing activity for they will guide the campaign through editorials, through articles that will examine the effect of the increase of prices upon the standard of living of the masses, that will expose the vicious aims of the reactionary forces and the increasing profits of the trusts.

"How can the campaign be developed? What methods shall be followed?

"It is essential that the city, State, and Federal officials be impressed strongly and boldly with the demands of the people that immediate action be taken against the rise in living costs, and to raise the purchasing power of the masses. The trusts that sap the very life out of the people by steadily increasing prices must be made to understand that the people will resist their unrestrained profiteering.

"All of these proposals can be carried through; none of them are too difficult to realize. It is up to our party to take the lead! It is up to our party members to be in the forefront of this campaign. It is up to our branches and units to take up this issue immediately with energy and concrete activities.

"The campaign against the high cost of living gives us the opportunity to bring the party to the forefront. The masses will see again and again that our party has the welfare of the masses at heart. It will give us an opportunity to connect the campaign against the high cost of living with other vital issues. It will help to develop the political consciousness of the people. In this way we will win new supporters, and will have greater opportunities to increase the membership of our party."

Pursuant to the instructions above quoted, certain Los Angeles Communists, working through an organization had been instrumental in electing Judge Fletcher Bowron mayor of the City of Los Angeles, were enabled to bring sufficient influence on the mayor so that he permitted his name to be used as "window dressing" for the creation of a "Consumers' Council" in connection with the Los Angeles Council of Defense. Your committee was aware, of course, that the mayor was acting in incontrovertible good faith and that he probably had no knowledge whatsoever of the fact that his office, name, and position as Director of Civilian Defense, were being used by the Communist Party for their own nefarious purposes. When the committee's investigators learned that John M. Weatherwax was connected with this movement, the situation received attention. The files of your committee revealed that said Weatherwax was long an active member in the Communist Party. Possibly no other investigation so clearly revealed, by the incontrovertible evidence produced, the subtle tactics of the Communist Party in organizing a mass group over which they would be able to assume complete dominance and direction.

Communist Party fractions had been prepared for the launching of the movement. The calling of the first meeting under the auspices of the mayor of the City of Los Angeles, coupled with what was made to appear "Civilian Defense" was the signal to the comrades to carry coordinated support for the movement into trade unions and other mass organizations. Communist fraction meetings were immediately expanded into these organizations under the screen of war needs, and the creation of consumers' divisions of this and that "defense committee" were to be given the character of spontaneous "common people" upsurge.

Typical of the technique used is a notice appearing in the *Overture*, the official publication of Local 47 of the *Musicians' Union* of Los Angeles, under date of March 19, 1942, entitled "Consumer Problems":

"Today, when war has been brought closer to the home of every American than ever before in history, and when we are faced with the task of defending America against the Axis aggression and all it implies, everything that impedes our defense effort, everything that threatens the health and morale of our people—and thereby threatens production—must be pushed aside.

"Everything we have been talking about must be put into action faster and better, keeping in mind that the living standards of the American people must be protected in order that we may all do our job to the best of our ability. Hitler slogans of '*Guns Instead of Butter*' cannot be subscribed to by the American people—our slogan will be 'Butter for the Sake of Guns!'

"How to buy, how and what to use, how to conserve, how to deal with monopolists who, greedily seeking greater and greater profit, would use the war as an excuse to escape their share of the war burden, by endangering our American standard of living—all these things we must know, in order to help ourselves and our country to achieve victory.

"Mayor Bowron, as Director of Civilian Defense, in Los Angeles, called a conference which was held on February 15th. Delegates from women's groups, educational organizations, and Labor Unions (in the majority) attended. 'These people should not be told what to do,' Mayor Bowron said. 'They should do it themselves.'

"As a large and important Union, Local 47 will follow Mayor Bowron's advice—we will do it ourselves.

"The *Consumer Council* of the *Union Defense Committee*, will hold a meeting in the near future to discuss these matters, which are vital to the defense of our country. Members and their families are urged to attend, and to put good intentions into action.

LINA DE FIORE,  
Chairman,  
Consumers Division,  
Union Defense Committee"

The committee's files showed that John M. Weatherwax served as a member of the Communist State Central Committee in 1936, having been appointed to that office by Lloyd L. Harris, Communist Party nominee to the office of Representative in Congress from the Sixth District, Alameda County. He had signed the petition of Lloyd L. Harris to this office on August 25, 1936. On October 30, 1936, Weatherwax was a special speaker in Berkeley at a Communist Party rally, and the *Western Worker* of October 14, 1937 reported that John M.

Weatherwax was the Membership Director for the Alameda County Committee of the Communist Party. The records of the committee reveal that he was a subscriber to the *People's Daily World* in 1938. He registered as a Communist in Alameda County in 1936. So it was, that your committee had no doubt of Weatherwax's affiliation with the Communist Party. He testified that he had registered as a Communist in the City of Oakland in 1934 or 1936 but claimed that his registry was merely a "protest."

He testified that the *Consumers' Council* is a local organization and admitted that he was a member of it. He named Thomas L. Pitts, of the A. F. of L. *Teamsters' Union*, as chairman pro tempore of the organization and Ernest Chamberlain (an employee of Clifford Clinton) as secretary. The office of the *Consumers' Council*, Weatherwax stated, was located in the 800 block on Union Street in the Teamsters' Hall in the City of Los Angeles and that another office was located at 618 South Olive Street (Clifton's Cafeteria) also in the City of Los Angeles. He stated that the membership records of the *Consumers' Council* were kept at the latter address. He indicated that he had considerable contact with the *Motion Picture Cooperative Buyers' Guild* and that he was a member of this organization. It had been established for about two years and was a buyers' pool-cooperative. He stated that two delegates from the *Motion Picture Cooperative Buyers' Guild* were sent to the *Consumers' Council*. These delegates were Rita Weir and Haskell Gleichman, the latter individual being the husband of Viola Brothers Shore. He admitted knowing George Hellgren, the husband of Nora Hellgren, and a member of the *Motion Picture Cooperative Buyers' Guild*. He admitted being acquainted with the publication known as *Buy Ways* and as being familiar with a plan for a cooperative nursery school for the children of working mothers.

The case of John M. Weatherwax (Volume X, pp. 3072-3088; 3098-3115) was an interesting one. He testified that he was a writer and had lived in Los Angeles for some four or five years. He had come to Los Angeles from Oakland and had lived in Aberdeen, Washington, previous to that time. He stated that he was the brother of Clara Weatherwax (Strang), who won a prize from the *John Day Company* and *The New Masses* in 1937 for a novel, *Marching, Marching*. He knew John Broman, Miles G. Humphrey, William Schneiderman, Elmer Hanoff, Samuel Darcy, Jack Moore, Elaine Black, Oleta O'Connor, Lucille Ball, Tassia Freed, Leo Bigelman, Anita Whitney, Rudy Lambert, Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway, James Toback, John Leech, Nora Hellgren, George Hellgren, Haakon Chevalier, Paul Radin, Ella Winter, Donald Ogden Stewart, Albert Rhys Williams, Emil Freed, Aubrey Grossman, A. L. Wirin, Titiana Tuttle, Frank Tuttle, Oscar Fuss, Philip M. Connelly, Alexander Noral and Roy Noftz.

He claimed that he had never joined the official Communist Party. He admitted having been to Communist Party headquarters at 121 Haight Street, in the City of San Francisco, and that he subscribed to the *People's Daily World*. He read the magazine, *The Communist*, and was familiar with the Communist textbook *Official History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. He was acquainted with the works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and others. He gave his particular

interpretation of the difference between the Trotskyists and the "orthodox" Communist. He stated that he considered the Trotskyists a group who occupied themselves in fighting the leadership of the Soviet Union. He denied any knowledge of the Communist Party's attempts to get control of labor unions and the motion picture industry, adding that it was outside his "sphere of knowledge."

He told the committee that he had attended some of the classes of the *League of American Writers* but did not know whether he was a member or not.

Mayor Fletcher Bowron appeared before the committee March 26, 1942. (Volume X, pp. 3088-3097.) He told the committee that he had met John Weatherwax several times and had first made his acquaintance about six weeks prior to giving his testimony. Weatherwax came to the office of the mayor in connection with the work of the Council of Defense. The mayor stated that Weatherwax was particularly concerned with consumer interests. The mayor later received a petition signed by 12 or 15 persons complaining that the consumer interest work in the Council of Defense was not sufficiently broad. The mayor later talked to a delegation of the persons who signed the petition and stated that Weatherwax took the most prominent part in the discussion. Unfortunately the mayor was unable to locate the petition above referred to. He was later induced to call a meeting at the Polytechnic High School for February 15, 1942. John Weatherwax presided over this meeting. The mayor estimated the number of people in attendance at the meeting at about 200. The mayor appeared at the meeting and made a statement which he described as being "largely in the nature of a disclaimer" because the entire movement had taken on an aspect that had not been anticipated by him. He explained this statement by pointing out that the demand that was being made was to force the Council of Defense to include representation from consumers' organizations and that the persons making the demand claimed they were doing so for the "rank and file of the people." The mayor stated that he detected at the meeting in the Polytechnic High School a tendency of certain persons or groups to dominate the consumer work. The mayor personally called the meeting to order, made his statement and outlined a plan to permit the general public's participation, but not as a meeting of the Council of Defense. He then turned the meeting over to Weatherwax and left the school. He has had no connection with this particular group since that time. He did not know of Weatherwax's connection with the Communist Party at the time of calling the meeting but later heard about it through newspaper reports. He recalled that Weatherwax had claimed to represent a group known as Consumers' United. The mayor denied the statement which had appeared in the *People's Daily World* of February 17th, which had stated that the City Council of Defense was the organization calling the meeting in the Polytechnic High School and stated emphatically that the City Council of Defense had no part in calling the meeting.

Thomas L. Pitts, who was the chairman pro tempore of the *Consumer Council* resigned that position as soon as he learned of the Communist affiliation of John M. Weatherwax. Ernest R. Chamberlain, the

secretary, of the group, did everything possible to keep the organization together. He issued a large four-page double-column pamphlet under the title, *He Who Gets Gyped*, which purported to be "An Answer and a Challenge to the Assembly Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California of which Assemblyman Jack Tenney is chairman." On the bottom of the front page appeared the following, in large boldface type: "Are You Interested? Read and Decide Whether—Assemblyman Jack Tenney, the Consumer's Council or the Better Business Bureau is Promoting 'Better Business' For You, The Consumer." Mr. Chamberlain then went on to point out his astonishment that the committee should even indicate the Communist background of the *Consumers' Council*. He uses the time-worn tactic of stating "you might remember that thousands of Californians have been branded as 'Communists' or 'Communist sympathizers' in the past decade." To cinch the argument, he then points out that the chairman of the committee has also been referred to in the past as "a Communist." Chamberlain traces the origin of the *Consumers' Council*, which outline, as a matter of fact, fitted in perfectly with the steps laid down in the *Communist Monthly*, heretofore quoted. The use of Mayor Fletcher Bowron, as "window dressing," together with the names of perfectly honest and loyal citizens, tricked by Trojan Horse tactics, rounded out the picture. Chamberlain manifested his ignorance of Communist Party tactics, or his disregard of them, in his pamphlet. The preparations taken for the meeting the mayor was induced to call at the Polytechnic High School was typical in every respect of the formation of other "transmission belts" of the Communist Party. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee that the majority of people drawn to this meeting and to activities of this character, are sincere and loyal American citizens, little realizing that the entire project has been planned for many years and that the particular organization was the result of Communist caucuses expanded to trap non-Communist members and innocents with the important question of consumer interest. Thereafter, Mr. Chamberlain launched upon an attack of the *Better Business Bureau* of Los Angeles and Mr. Robert Bauer. In his pamphlet attacking the committee, Mr. Chamberlain hid behind the prestige of Mayor Fletcher Bowron wherever and whenever it was convenient or possible.

Ernest R. Chamberlain has been connected with the Clifford Clinton organization and the CIVIC Committee of Los Angeles for some time. It is the considered opinion of the committee that Mr. Chamberlain, in his attack on the committee, was sincere and that he honestly believed that the committee's investigation of the *Consumer Council* was a reactionary attack on a group of loyal citizens who merely desired to be of service to the buying public. Chamberlain represents a large cross-section of American men and women who are readily used as "fronts" for Communist Party machinations. A citizen, such as Mr. Chamberlain, deplored certain obvious activities on the part of fraudulent advertisers is honestly desirous of remedying the situation. Such a person actually falls into the Communist Party's contemptuous category of "reformer." A "reformer" is one who desires to remedy and cure existing ills. To the Communist, such a person is an obstacle

to the revolution, but as Stalin pointed out in Volume I of *Leninism*: "The revolutionary will accept a *reform* in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with *illegal* work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his *illegal activities* for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the Bourgeoisie may be intensified." A crusading reformist like Mr. Chamberlain affords an effective *screen* for Communist Party illegal activities. Mr. Chamberlain desires to protect the buying public and to remedy abuses he has observed, or has imagined he has observed. The Communist Party desires to destroy our entire competitive system and to smash the press as important military objectives on the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## 12

### STATE GOVERNMENT

Characteristic of the Communist Party policy of infiltrating those media through which access can be gained to a group of antisocial or embittered and distressed people, such as the unemployed, those on relief, manual laborers, racial minorities and even the inmates of penal institutions, your committee has found much evidence of such infiltration into the Department of Labor, the Department of Welfare, the Department of Institutions, the Immigration and Housing Commission and into one, at least, of the State penal institutions.

In the Department of Labor, your committee found Dorothy Ray, a lifelong member of the Communist Party who had her Communist training in the *Young Communist League*. Dorothy Ray testified that she had been married to Lou Schneiderman, the brother of William Schneiderman, and that she had later married Don Healey, whose record as a Communist and agitator in California is well known. Dorothy Ray (or Mrs. Healey) is employed as a Deputy State Labor Commissioner in the City of San Francisco. She joined the *Young Communist League* the instant she attained the age of admission. She admitted having a police record, having been arrested as an agitator in Imperial County and having served a term in jail there. She had been employed, for a time, by the *Works Progress Administration* in Los Angeles, where she associated with known members of the Communist Party. Miss Ray's former brother-in-law, William Schneiderman, secretary of the Communist Party in California, is now facing revocation of citizenship because of his Communist affiliation. The current husband of Miss Ray, as above stated, is Don Healey, who registered as a Communist for a time and who was the guiding light and power of Los Angeles County's *Labor's Non-Partisan League*.

Your committee learned that Mrs. Frances Moore Plunkert was also employed in the same department with Dorothy Ray in San Francisco, under the name of Frances Moore. She is the wife of William Plunkert, former Assistant Relief Administrator for California's State Relief Administration. There is no doubt of the Communist affiliation and activities of Mr. William Plunkert. She testified that she was a Research Technician on Economics and Statistics on Labor, Division of the State Labor Commission under H. C. Carrasco and that she was employed under the name of Frances Moore. (Volume

VI, pp. 1870-1875.) She testified that she had met Dorothy Ray when she came to work for the division and that Albert A. Shanks was working in the law enforcement section of the same office together with Irving Shore and Robert Muir. She testified that she had met Samuel Kalish, who was employed in the Los Angeles office. She denied ever having been affiliated with the *Young Communist League* or the Communist Party.

The maneuvering and machinations of the Communists in California's State Relief Administration is a black page in the social history of the State and it is liberally smeared with red. A report has been made on the activities of the Communists in the State Relief Administration and in the Communist controlled and dominated Workers' Alliance by an Assembly Committee of 1940 under the chairmanship of Assemblyman Samuel W. Yorty. Your present committee subpoenaed certain people who had been connected with the State Relief Administration during 1940 and caught up the loose ends of the former investigation. Among those called was Branislau Joseph Zukas, who had denied his Communist affiliations when the Yorty Committee questioned him in Visalia in 1940. The Communist affiliation of Zukas was established by documentary evidence.

Branislau Joseph Zukas and some 23 others were convicted of contempt of the committee in Visalia and Stockton. The then Governor, Olson, interfered in the penalties imposed by the court in these cases and before going out of office in 1942, pardoned all of these individuals, even though they had been convicted of a misdemeanor.

Mr. Clinton T. Duffy, Warden of San Quentin Penitentiary, was present in the Advisory Pardon Board meeting when pardons for Zukas, and the other defendants convicted of contempt of the Yorty Committee, were recommended by the vote of the board. (Volume VI, pp. 1806-1818.) This occurred on or about June 30, 1941, and Mr. Duffy stated that he voted in favor of the pardons. (It must be remembered that Zukas and the others had been convicted of a misdemeanor.) Duffy stated that the reason he voted for the pardon of these defendants was that "they were county jail cases and had served a portion of their time in jail." He did not, however, recall recommending a full pardon for Zukas on October 30, 1941.

The committee made a long and thorough investigation of the activities of B. Joseph Zukas. He was an exceedingly impudent and hostile witness. (Volume I, pp. 145-164.) He came to California from Jamaica, New York, having been employed in that city in some capacity. Soon after arriving in California in December of 1937, he organized the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*, C. I. O., at the Los Angeles General Hospital. In November of 1938 he became affiliated with the State Relief Administration in Stockton and was sent to Tulare in December of 1939 where he was instrumental in organizing Local 204 for SCMWA in the State Relief Administration in Tulare County. He became the secretary of Local 204.

In March of 1940, Zukas was subpoenaed at Visalia before an Assembly Committee investigating un-American activities in the State Relief Administration. He refused to bring in certain documents of the SCMWA Communist front organization and was finally convicted of contempt of the Assembly Committee. He was defended in this

case by A. L. Wirin, of the law firm of Gallagher, Wirin and Johnson. Selma Michael assisted Wirin in the contempt trial. The decision of the Visalia court was appealed to the District Court of Appeals and the decision was upheld. Zukas resigned from the State Relief Administration and applied for a position as junior custodian at McNeil Island. He did not secure this position. He then went to Tacoma and from there to New York City where he remained for a brief time.

A photostatic copy of a letter received from Zukas' cousin, Frank Detke, addressing Zukas as "Dear Tovarich" (which means "Comrade" in Russian) was introduced into the record after Zukas had denied ever having received such a letter. (Volume I, pp. 151-152.)

From September, 1940, to May, 1941, Zukas worked for the Brooks Walker family in Piedmont. In May of 1941, he received a civil service position as junior interviewer with the State Department of Employment at \$130 per month in the Business and Professional Department of that State agency in the City of San Francisco. He later resigned from this position to become the organizer for Local 246 of the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America* in Los Angeles.

Frederick Langton was called before the committee October 14, 1941. (Volume I, pp. 277-284.) He testified that he was an addressograph operator in the Accounting Division of the Department of Public Works in the City of Los Angeles. He admitted being a member of *Labors' Non-Partisan League* since 1938 or 1939 and stated that he was a member of Local 246, of the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*, a C. I. O. Communist front labor organization. He admitted being present when Herbert Biberman spoke for the *American Peace Mobilization* on the Los Angeles City Hall steps Decoration Day in 1941. He admitted subscribing to the Communist Party paper, the *People's Daily World*, but denied being affiliated with the *Young Communist League* or the Communist Party.

Miss Pearl Ossman, employed as a typist-clerk in the State Department of Employment and a member of Local 246 of the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*, C. I. O. (SCMWA) typified the hostile Communist fellow-traveling witness. (Volume I, pp. 272-277.) Although she admitted attending *People's World Forums* conducted by Ed Robbin, Communist radio-commentator for the *People's Daily World*, and attending Communist Party Workers' Schools in 1939, subscribed to the *People's Daily World* and was a member of *Labors' Non-Partisan League*, she emphatically denied that she was a member of either the *Young Communist League* or of the Communist Party and stated that she had no acquaintance whatsoever with Communists.

## 13

### STATE SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

In its study and investigation of Communism in our State public school system, its colleges and universities, your committee has enjoyed the fullest cooperation of university administration and is especially indebted to Mr. James Corley, comptroller, and Captain Walter Lee, in charge of campus police at the University of California at Berkeley.

Most of this investigation has been conducted quietly, as indeed, has been the major part of the committee's investigation in the Communist field since June of 1941. Many witnesses were interrogated and a great volume of documentary evidence has been examined. As a result of this investigation, your committee is convinced that Communism is not being *taught* in the universities, or in any of our public schools throughout California. Your committee, however, is convinced, that although Communism is not taught in our public school system, its colleges or universities, there are a considerable number of instructors and faculty members who are either active members of the Communist Party or whose positions relegate them to the role of "fellow traveler." We have heretofore explained the distinction, if any, between a Communist Party member and a fellow traveler. A "fellow traveler" may be more dangerous in an educational institution than an out-and-out Communist Party member. Your committee found that there is a Communist book store operating within a block of Sather Gate of the University of California in Berkeley. We also found that there exists at the University of California in Berkeley what is known as the *Campus Branch* of the *Young Communist League*. A number of typical Communist front organizations are also active in and around the University. Your committee found a similar condition existing at Stanford University and at the University of California in Los Angeles and at some of the smaller colleges scattered throughout the State. The situation, in the opinion of your committee, is one that can be best handled by the Legislature rather than directly by the University itself.

William Schneiderman admitted that the Campus Branch of the Communist Party was located in Berkeley. He likewise stated that he had met Haakon Chevalier and his wife at a banquet held in the Whitecomb Hotel, in San Francisco, for Theodore Dreiser, by the *Civil Liberties Union*. (Vol. V, pp. 1260-1342.)

The committee has gathered considerable evidence and information in connection with the Communist infiltration into the student groups at the University of California at Berkeley. A meeting of students at Sather Gate at the University was called early in July of 1935 to stimulate interest in a San Francisco parade to be held in commemoration of "Bloody Thursday," July 5th, of that year. This meeting was called under the auspices of the *American Student Union*, a Communist youth organization. John Delaney Shoemaker, a member of the *International Longshoremen's Union* and a Communist Party member, was one of the speakers.

The Communist infiltration into the University of California at Berkeley probably began late in 1930. The first Communist group was organized in January, 1931, and was called the *Social Problems Club*. It held its first meeting in Stiles Hall, Y. M. C. A. Whatever its actual origin, it was soon taken over by the Young Communist League and such speakers as Louis Goldblatt, Communist secretary of the San Francisco C. I. O. Council, James Branche, Canadian Communist, since deported, Sam Darcy, now facing cancellation of citizenship and deportation because of his Communist affiliation, and many other comrades, were invited to speak. In the Spring of 1932, the *Social Problems Club* became a chapter of the *National Student League* and this

organization, in due course, became the *American Student Union*. Aubrey Grossman was active in this group through its history. In 1936 the *American Student Union* sponsored a meeting at Sather Gate of the university at which James W. Ford, Communist candidate for Vice President, was the main speaker. This meeting prominently displayed the slogan "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism" and also displayed the Soviet flag bearing the hammer and sickle.

Mr. Miles G. Humphrey (Volume V, pp. 1616-1631) testified before your committee that in 1934 he accompanied Rudy Lambert, whom Humphrey knew as a Communist Party functionary in charge of the Campus Unit at Berkeley, to the home of Professor Haakon Chevalier where a Communist Party meeting was being held. Humphrey stated that Chevalier was the Unit Organizer and the secretary of the University unit which was composed of professors and teachers at the University of California. Mr. Humphrey testified that Aubrey Grossman was then very active in the Young Communist League and that he was also a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Humphrey testified that Mr. Grossman, then a student of law in the University, held unit meetings of the Communist Party in the law library on the campus and that they used the law department mimeographing machine to get out leaflets for Communist Party propaganda.

Don Morton, a former member of the Communist Party, testified that Aubrey Grossman was a member of a Communist committee for the defense of King, Conner and Ramsey, Alameda ship murder defendants, which grew out of Communist Unit 5, known as the "Campus Unit" in the late Summer of 1936. (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794.) Morton told your committee that Grossman contacted the faculty members of the University of California for legal assistance and collected funds for the defense of the defendants in this case. Morton also testified that he assisted in fighting the American Legion's attempt to block Aubrey Grossman's admission to the California State Bar and that, in conjunction with the Communist Party, he helped carry on an intensive propaganda campaign in Grossman's behalf, contacting members of the faculty at the University of California, prominent attorneys, Congressmen and Senators.

There can be little doubt in the mind of any person familiar at all with any of the facts that the *American Student Union* is a Communist Party front organization for the indoctrination of American students in colleges and universities in the United States. The *American Federation of Teachers* is likewise a Communist front organization for the teachers of America. *The Communist* for May of 1937 states: "The American Student Union and American Federation of Teachers, as well as other teacher and student groups, must be led to undertake joint activities. The American Student Union should advance slogans and undertake struggles in the interest of teachers and the American Federation of Teachers, in the interest of students \* \* \* the task of the Communist Party must be first and foremost to arouse the teachers to class consciousness and to organize them into the American Federation of Teachers, which is the main current of the American labor movement."

*The Communist* for February, 1937, pp. 144-145 states: "The one year's existence of the American Student Union has fully justified its

founding. During that year it led a student's peace strike of half a million students. It played an important part in mobilizing student's support for the American Youth Act, and in winning the continuation and extension of the National Youth Administration. It has begun serious work to organize high school students."

Dr. Max Radin is a professor of law at the University of California in Berkeley. In 1935, Dr. Radin was a sponsor of the *American League Against War and Fascism*. In January of 1936 he spoke on the same platform with Lorine Norman in San Francisco. In November of the same year he attended the *Western Writers' Congress* in the City of San Francisco. He was a member of the advisory committee of the *San Francisco Theatre Union* in 1939 and sponsored the *San Francisco League of Women Shoppers*.

Dr. Max Radin testified before your committee December 3, 1941, in San Francisco. (Volume VI, pp. 1768-1783.) The professor stated that he was born in Kempten, Poland, and that he came to the United States in 1884 and has derivative citizenship as his father was naturalized in 1889. He has been teaching at the University of California since 1919. He was aware of some *Young Communist League* activity at the University but the only man connected with the Communist Party that he had ever known was Kenneth May. His recollection of *Young Communist League* work was "very inaccurate." *Young Communist League* meetings were frequently announced by posters to be held at Sather Gate. The professor told your committee that he did not know what a "front organization" was but did recall the *Social Problems Club* in which Communists and non-Communists gathered to study the problems of society. There are a number of *Young Communist League* members at the University as students and he stated that this fact was not at all concealed. The professor concluded by denying that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party and claimed that he had no sympathy with the Communist Party.

## 14

### CONCLUSIONS

From the evidence, exhibits and material in possession of the committee plus the reports of its investigators up and down the State of California, your committee concludes that the Communist problem in the State of California is far more serious than any member of the committee might have believed at the outset of the investigation. The committee is convinced that the Communist Party in California and the United States is directly controlled by the Comintern in Russia. The facts herewith reported show an amazing infiltration of the Communist Party into the Trade and Industrial Unions in the State of California. There are Communist units operating in our State Penal Institutions and many Communists are still being carried on the pay rolls of the State of California. These individuals should immediately be dismissed.

The most cursory reading of Communist literature demonstrates incontrovertibly that the American Communist has two objectives. The first and ever-present objective activating Communists in California and the United States is the *defense of Soviet Russia*. The

second is its basic objective and upon which premise the entire superstructure of Communism rests—world-wide revolution against all capitalist governments. Although this basic objective of world-wide revolution against capitalist governments is soft-pedaled and postponed from time to time, as the foreign policy of the Comintern directs, it is always present and ultimately menacing. The ruthless, forcible and utter destruction of *all* States, clearing the way for the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat is ultimately ordained.

Your committee believes, and therefore recommends to the Legislature, that only the continuation of a committee authorized and empowered continually to investigate the changing policies and activities of the Communist Party in California can effectively block the maneuverings and conspiratorial plottings of this subversive group of people for the destruction of our Government and the American way of life.

## 15

### AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN G. HONEYCOMBE

### BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA

#### AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF CALIFORNIA }  
County of Los Angeles } ss.

John G. Honeycombe being first duly sworn on oath does say: That he is a citizen of the United States of America and a resident of the City of Los Angeles, County of Los Angeles, State of California. He joined the Los Angeles section of the California Division of the Communist Party of the United States, an affiliated branch of the Communist International, known as the Third International of Communist Parties of the World whose headquarters, presidium, executive committee and general secretary maintain headquarters in Moscow, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. He was accepted as a member of the Communist Party of the United States on or about June, 1934, and received his party membership book therein commencing as of that date. That following his acceptance as a member he was assigned to the Worker's School, located at the Cultural Center, No. 224 S. Spring Street, Los Angeles, California in a building which housed the headquarters of the Los Angeles section of the Communist Party of California, southern division. That affiant attended the classes held in Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, and agitation and propaganda and revolutionary tactics; that the purposes of the schooling therein were as follows: Training and adaptation in applying the Marxian theories of economics to the relationships of the existing capitalistic economy of the United States for the purpose of exposing and contradicting the theories existing under the exploitative objectives of the system of economy prevailing in the United States; training for the purposes of advocating the theory of the Socialistic economy of abundance as practiced in the U. S. S. R., that is the theory of equality of production,

distribution, consumption, according to the ability of each in methods of production and to each according to their needs; training in the science of agitation among labor unions and members of organized labor by demands for a greater share in the profits of production in the form of wages and wage increases; by demands for better working conditions; by demands for the control of the hiring and firing of employees under the sole jurisdiction of the labor unions; by the exposure of collaborationist union leaders who fail to go along with the above demands upon the employers; by compelling the employer in self-protection to call out law enforcement agencies, the police, militia, in order to point out the use of such police powers by the employers against the workers, thereby creating and fomenting bitterness and disrespect for both employers and law enforcement; by training the members of the Communist Party in the art of subtle penetration into the unions and the taking of an active part in the initiative policies of unions in employers' affairs with respect to employer competitors; by carrying out the directives of the Communist Party line with relations to unionism and their political direction and affiliations; by pointing out to the members of the unions that in the Soviet Union (the U. S. S. R.) that the unions own and control the machines of production, regulate its production, and distributes that production on an equitable basis among the producers, that is the workers and operators of the machines of production; by pointing out the role of the agents of industry here in the United States, that is, the elected representatives of American big business, the Members of the Congress of the United States, the House of Representatives and the Senate, as being the mouthpieces of the exploiting capitalists, industrialists, landlords of the owning classes; by pointing out the usages of the militia against the workers by the employers under the orders and directions of State Governors, who under the State regime operate in the interests of the employers and owners of the machines of production and the large landowning combinations known as the Associated Farmers an association of absentee landlords; by directing the workers and members of unions to form defense squads to protect their interests against the arrayed forces of the State and Nation who are created to protect the system of exploitation maintained by the employers to protect the ownership of private property, the capitalistic economy of the profit system, and preserve the continuation thereof; by training the members in the tactics of the revolution as exemplified by Lenin in his successful overthrow of the Kerensky Regime of Russia during the year 1919 after the desolation of the Russian forces as a result of World War I; by requiring a thorough study of the writings of John Reed's book under the title of "*Ten Days That Shook the World*"; by quoting excerpts of John Strachey's book, "*The Coming Struggle for Power*"; by discussing and analyzing R. Palm Dutt's book, "*Fascism and Social Revolution*"; by reviewing the current struggles of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against the capitalistic world; by pointing out the role that the Communist Party of the United States and all Communist parties must follow in order to secure the safety and security of the Soviet Union, the *Fatherland of Socialism* and Communism, in that through the preservation of the Soviet Union we could look forward with greater confidence in the eventual liberation from and overthrow of our own

capitalist classes and landlords, the bosses and their agents; by bringing before the American workers and the people generally the rapid strides made by the people of the U. S. S. R. under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin and the vanguard of the working classes, the Communist Party in order to condition the minds of the American working class and the people for the eventual overthrow of the existing order of society and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat under the direction of and control of the Communist Party of the United States. By our training we were prepared to enter under instructions from the Communist Party every occupation where we could carry on our task of agitation and propaganda to further the revolutionary development of the American working classes and the organized unions; by joining all occupational associations, organizations, unions, which represented the various occupations in which we fitted by either training or experience; that on or about July, 1934, I became actively attached to the organization set up by the Communist Party of the United States known as the "*Friends of the Soviet Union*," an organization organized for the purpose of agitating the American people living under a capitalistic economy by pointing out the merits and social well-being of the people who lived under the economy of socialism under the dictatorship of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as against the impoverishment of millions of the American people living under and through the ruling class capitalistic depression, who resorted to their capitalistic Messiah Franklin D. Roosevelt, the demagogue, who was to lead them out of the economic jungle of capitalism during the year of 1934; that the Friends of the Soviet Union, a mass organization created by the Communist Party of the United States for the purpose of obtaining recognition of the Soviet Union by the Roosevelt Administration, realizing fully the impossibility of accomplishing this under the open and avowed leadership of the Communist Party of the United States, who at that time were eyed with a great deal of suspicion by the American people; that on or about October, 1934, under the directives of the Communist Party fraction which formed the Executive Committee of the F. S. U. we received instructions from the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party through a member of the National committee of the F. S. U. to arrange for the publication of the Anti-Hearst Examiner, with which to reply to and combat the editorials of the Los Angeles Examiner in which they continued their attacks on the Soviet Union; that at or about this time we organized a picket line before the offices of the Los Angeles Examiner with the aid and direction of the Los Angeles Section of the Communist Party in order to intimidate and boycott the issues of the Los Angeles Examiner which agitated for public expression in disapproval of any form of recognition of the Soviet Union by the American Government; that your affiant together with the representative of the National Executive Committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union, one *Theodore Bayer*, by name, and *Dr. James C. Coleman*, district organizer and others whom I can not at this time recall, arranged and ordered printed 300,000 copies of the Anti-Hearst Examiner for distribution to the following organizations and societies: Utopian Society; End Poverty in California organization headed by Upton Sinclair; Humanist Society of Friends; Unitarian Church society; all labor organizations and old age pension groups;

that the organizer and director of the F. S. U., Los Angeles branch, *Dr. James C. Coleman*, was at that time a member of the Los Angeles Section of the Communist Party; that *Theodore Bayer*, member of the National Committee of the F. S. U., was at that time a member of the Communist Party of the United States; that on or about June, July and August, 1934, your affiant and others of the F. S. U. and members of the Communist Party assisted in the raising of money through organized meetings to support the strike of Longshoremen at San Pedro and San Francisco as well as the Seaman's Tanker strike of that period; that on or about 10 days after the settlement of said strike, your affiant joined the Sailors Union of the Pacific, a branch of the International Seaman's Union of the American Federation of Labor; that on or about October 14, 1934, affiant sailed for the Orient on the *S. S. President Coolidge*, completing two round trips to Manila, P. I., and return via Japan and Shanghai, China; that on the first trip your affiant visited the Russian Embassy at Shanghai, on or about November 7, 1934, located at Broadway and Wangpoo Road opposite the Astor Hotel; that after presenting my credentials I was entertained cordially by the staff and treated in a comradely and revolutionary manner, by an exchange of views concerning events in our respective countries and their revolutionary problems; that during the period consumed on two voyages to the Orient commencing on October 14, 1934, and ending January 15, 1935, your affiant carried on both agitation and propaganda activities among both the union and other crew members, licensed and unlicensed personnel; that on or about December, 1936, affiant turned in his Communist Party membership book to the Unit Organizer of Unit A I Los Angeles Subsection of the Communist Party of the District of California; that on or about August 1, 1937, affiant volunteered his services to the recruiting agent of the Communist Party, Los Angeles Section, for service with the American Section of the International Brigades for the Republic of Spain; that the offer of service was accepted; that the recruiting organization was the Communist controlled and directed committee known as the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; that he arrived in Spain on or about September 7, 1937, via France; that on or about September 15, 1937, at Albacete, Spain, he among many others, volunteers of many nationalities, were addressed as follows: "Comrades, you are here as the vanguard of your revolutionary working class brothers and comrades, of the unions, and the oppressed of all races. Your first duty here is to defeat Fascism; to smash the forces of the landlords and their agents, the Church of Rome and their puppet Franco. Comrades, your second duty is to prepare yourselves here under revolutionary and civil war conditions, for the coming struggle back home against our own oppressors, our own landlords and the capitalist classes of America. You will be the cadres of the revolution in America when the time is ripe for the assault of the oppressed against the exploiters of the working classes. We must win here in Spain, as eventually we must win in the revolution to come back home in America." \* \* \* (end quote); that on or about November 7, 1937, at Albarez, Spain, following action of the Lincoln-Washington Battalion at Fuentes de Ebro and during a reorganization period we received orders from the Brigade Commissar, Dave Doran, instructing all party members to carry out

the directives of the Communist Party of Spain, under the Leadership of Jose Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, as recommended by the Political Bureau of the War Commissariat of Moscow, from the offices of the General Secretary of the Comintern, the Third Communist International, Georgi Dimitroff; that orders of the day concerning these wishes of the Comintern were carried out to the letter by command; that they automatically provided for the transfer of membership from the Communist Party of the United States to the Communist Party of Spain, compelling attendance to directives and obedience thereof; that the political commissariat, of which group, your affiant was elected to the political post of Political Commissar of the Battalion Staff; that your affiant was instructed in meetings to relay to the members of the battalion through their company commissars, all directives and instructions of the Spanish Communist Party with respect to the direction and aims of the civil war and the carrying out of the Comintern Party line in our propaganda and agitation in our communications with organizations, friends and relatives at home in America; that the following named men composed the International Control Committee; all representatives of the Comintern; Andre Marty, representing the Republic of France and the French section of the Communist Party of France; Jose Diaz, representing the Spanish section of the Communist Party of Spain; Gen. Rubilao, representing the U. S. S. R. and the contingent of instructors of the Red Army of the Soviet Union; Robert Minor, representing the Communist Party of the United States; Gen. Gomez, Chief of the Russian Secret Police, commonly known as the OGPU, with headquarters at Albacete, Spain; that on or about February 27, 1938, Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, appeared before the members of the Fifteenth International Brigade, in the vicinity of Moro Station, following our relief from action at Teruel, Spain, and addressed the men as follows: "That they were free to leave Spain if they were no longer able to fight or were physically incapacitated and therefor were of no use to the cause of the people of Spain. He further stated that no further repatriations would be permitted until the end of the war and the victory had been won for the Spanish people's cause, which he likened to our own cause which we would face in America. He explained the lack of fighting equipment to the failure of the State Department of the United States and the Foreign Office of both Britain and France for the continuation of the Non-Intervention Committee and for the prevention of the lifting of the Embargo on arms to the Republic of Spain; he stated that many thousands of Americans were donating both their time and money to assist us in our struggle to win victory for the Spanish people. That the Communist Party of the United States and throughout the world were directing every effort to the end that the cause of the working classes of Spain might be victorious. He explained that only the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party and Joseph Stalin had come to the aid of the Spanish working classes. That victory for the working class of Spain would be the signal for revolt of the working classes throughout the world to overthrow their oppressors and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. That we of America must set an example of revolutionary discipline and courage for the workers of Spain,

as well as for our own working class at home in America. That the day would surely come when we would be the cadres of the revolution, the leading vanguard of the working class in their struggle to overthrow the capitalists and capitalistic system and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. That we must emulate our heroic leaders of the revolution, Lenin, and Stalin \* \* \*'' (end quote). That on or about March 13, 1938, at Barcelona, Spain, affiant visited the offices of the Ministry of War and was informed by the aide-de-camp to the minister, that under no circumstances could he or would he authorize any repatriations of the American members of the International Brigades without the consent of the International Control Committee named previously herein;

Affiant further herein states that the Communist Party of the United States is a branch of the Communist Third International, is accredited and delegated and affiliated to and with the Comintern, subscribes to, conforms to and obeys the decisions of the Communist Third International, as do all affiliated Communist Parties throughout the world. That membership in the Comintern (Communist Third International), is predicated on subscription to and conformity with Comintern directives.

[SEAL]

JOHN G. HONEYCOMBE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this thirtieth day of September, 1942.

EARL BLODGETT,  
Notary Public in and for the County of  
Los Angeles, State of California.

16

**AFFIDAVIT OF RENA M. VALE**

**BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON  
UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA—AR 277**

**AFFIDAVIT**

STATE OF CALIFORNIA }  
County of Los Angeles } ss.  
                          }

Rena M. Vale being first duly sworn deposes and says:

That my full name is Rena Marie Vale; that I presently reside at 1247½ Huntley Drive, Los Angeles, California; that I was born in Arizona in the year 1898; that I graduated from the Northern Arizona Normal School in Flagstaff, Arizona, in the year 1918; that I taught school in Arizona two years; that I have lived almost continuously in California since 1920 and in Los Angeles since 1924; that since 1924 I have followed the writing profession, doing "free-lance" work for various newspapers and journals as well as reporting, short story writing, motion picture scenario writing, radio writing and publicity writing; that in 1928 I won a prize of \$5,000 in a scenario writing

contest staged by Paramount Studios and Photoplay Magazine; that in 1929 I was director of publicity for Pickwick Airways, and for several years following, I engaged in aviation writing; that my present occupation is that of writer;

That since 1913 I have followed very closely the developments of labor, Socialist and Communist organizations;

That since 1924 I have read the literature of the Communist Party, that is the *Masses*, the *New Masses*, the *Communist* magazine, the *Communist International* magazine, together with the *International Press Correspondence INPRECOR*, and many brochures, pamphlets, speeches and books published both in the United States and in the Soviet Union; that I discussed the policies and purposes of the Communist Party from time to time with persons who identified themselves to me as Communist Party members;

That although familiar with the so-called Communist International and Communist Party "line," I was in disagreement with it from 1924 until 1935; that the reason for my attitude toward the Communist Party "line" was that I disagreed with the idea of violent revolution in any country and in particular in the United States; that I disagreed with the idea of offending the majority of the people of United States by attempting to impose upon them a form of government and a culture which was totally foreign to the political and cultural trends of United States; that, in other words, I believed that whatever changes and improvements were to be made in the United States political, economic and cultural affairs, should spring from the needs of the people in this country and should be made according to the democratic traditions of United States;

That when I read the speech of Georgi Dimitroff given to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in August, 1935, and the discussions of it in the various Communist Party publications I have heretofore mentioned, I formed the opinion, which I now know to have been erroneous, that the Communist International intended to permit each and every country to work out its own salvation by democratic processes and that the Communist International would assist, encourage and lead in such processes of democratic reform as sprang up in every country; that, in other words, the Communist International had abandoned the old policies of Lenin and Trotsky of creating world revolution, and had decided to cooperate with, instead of oppose, the democratic organizations and governments of the world;

That because of this misconception of the Communist International intentions, due to the Oriental subtleties used by said Georgi Dimitroff, I felt I was willing to work with the Communist Party;

That at that time, in 1935, I was working in Universal Studios in the capacity of secretary to various writers; that I discussed my changed attitude toward the Communist Party with such writers as Samuel Ornitz, Aben Kandel and Boris Ingster, with whom I had contact in my work; Samuel Ornitz identified himself to me as a Communist Party member and discussed at considerable length the intentions of the Communist Party in Hollywood and especially in relation to the motion picture industry;

That in the latter part of 1935 I was working on the motion picture, "*Show Boat*," and in that work met the Negro singer, Paul Robeson

and his wife, Essie Robeson; that said Paul Robeson identified himself to me as a Communist Party member and urged me to affiliate with the Communist Party;

That in the early spring of 1936 I made contact through Hugh MacBeth, Negro attorney, with Dr. Fabian Garcia, a former attache to the Cuban Embassy in Washington, D. C., and that said Dr. Garcia identified himself to me as a Communist Party member and stated he was working within United States toward the end of overthrowing the government of Cuba, which he labeled "Fascist"; that I worked with said Dr. Garcia in the Cuban Committee, and attended several meetings of that group where I heard the fact mentioned that the Communist Party guided the policies of said Cuban Committee;

That in these meetings of said Cuban Committee, I met with such persons as Clifford Odets, the playwright who had become the darling of the Communist Party for writing the play, "*Waiting for Lefty*," used by said party as a propaganda medium; Lionel Stander, who had recently come to Hollywood from the New York stage; Rose Dreher and her husband, Dave Dreher, who was employed in the Sound Department of R. K. O. Studios; and Herbert Biberman, who called himself a motion picture director; that in these aforementioned meetings I heard all these people discuss the matter in which the Cuban Committee could serve the general interests of the Communist Party in Southern California;

That in the summer of 1936 I was unemployed and Etta Durning, member of the Utopian Society and of the Women's Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, referred me to a Mrs. Nora Helgren, whom Mrs. Durning said could help me obtain employment;

#### LEAGUE OF WOMEN SHOPPERS

That I called on Mrs. Helgren at her home in a bungalow court, at 1757½ North Ivar, Hollywood, and after several discussions, Mrs. Helgren informed me that she was a Communist Party functionary, and that she had been given the job by the Communist Party in New York of organizing in Southern California the League of Women Shoppers, which Mrs. Helgren informed me was under the complete control of the Communist Party. Mrs. Helgren urged me to join the Communist Party and stated that providing I did so she would put me in charge of the Los Angeles office of said League of Women Shoppers; in the meantime, while I was considering the matter of affiliation with the Communist Party, Mrs. Helgren gave me some preliminary organization work to do for the League of Women Shoppers. She gave me a list of names and instructed me to contact these persons, saying I had been sent by her; she informed me that these persons were sympathetic to the Communist Party and thought I could obtain from them donations to begin the work in Los Angeles of the League of Women Shoppers. The names she gave me were:

Gale Sondergaard, screen actress and wife of Herbert Biberman;

Tess Slesinger Davis, screen writer and wife of motion picture producer, Frank Davis;

Katherine Kilbourne (later an official in State Relief Administration);

That I made contact with Tess Slesinger Davis over the telephone, but did not call on her; however, I discussed the purpose of the League of Women Shoppers and she expressed herself as sympathetic;

That I called on Mrs. Katherine Kilbourne in her home on Los Feliz Boulevard and discussed the purpose of the League of Women Shoppers with her, and she said she would think over the matter of making a donation;

That about that time—the fall of 1936—I met a woman at the home of Mrs. Helgren whose name was Mrs. Nan Tolins, wife of I. Bibb Tolins, and who was also known as Nan Golden, who informed me that she was a Communist Party member of long standing and that she was going to take the position as paid secretary in the office of the League of Women Shoppers in Los Angeles; therefore, I turned over my literature and my contacts to Mrs. Tolins, who, as she stated, became the secretary in the Los Angeles office of the League of Women Shoppers;

That by that time I had extended my efforts as a Communist fellow traveler, and was working in an office in the American Bank Building on the same floor as the offices of Gallagher and Johnson on the Committee to Prevent the Disbarment of Leo Gallagher; that this committee was made up of attorneys who were endeavoring to prevent the disbarment of Leo Gallagher by the California State Bar; that on this committee were: J. Allen Frankel, Spencer Austrian, Saul Klein, Grover Johnson;

That J. Allen Frankel and Spencer Austrian informed me they were Communist Party members and Grover Johnson stated he was not a member of the Communist Party but that he followed all suggestions by the Communist Party;

That it was through this said Committee to Prevent the Disbarment of Leo Gallagher that I came in contact with the International Labor Defense, 127 South Broadway, Los Angeles; Rose Chernin was in charge of the office of the International Labor Defense; Miss Chernin informed me that the International Labor Defense, for which Leo Gallagher was attorney, was a branch of the Communist Party, and that all persons who worked in confidential capacities in or for that organization must be members of the Communist Party and under its discipline;

That through Julia Walsh, a typist in Leo Gallagher's office, and who made frequent trips to the office of the International Labor Defense, I made application to join the Communist Party; that I saw my application card pass into the hands of Rudy Lambert, a Communist Party functionary whom I met in the International Labor Defense office; Mr. Lambert informed me that my application would be checked by the Communist Party and that I would be notified if I was accepted;

That after several weeks, and after the hearing of Leo Gallagher before the State Bar Board, I had not heard from my application for membership in the Communist Party, and assumed that I had been rejected because of my previous opposition to that party, particularly in the unemployed cooperative organization where I had frequently taken the floor and denounced those I thought to be Communists;

That I again contacted Mrs. Nora Helgren and informed her of the opinion that my past opposition to the Communist Party had caused

my rejection for membership; she urged me to sign another application card and assured me it would go through; that I did so and saw Mrs. Helgren hand that card to Nan Tolins to be sent through regular channels;

That Mrs. Helgren then made another effort to get employment for me through Communist Party channels; that she introduced me to Albert Keene, whom she informed me had been an official in the office of Intourist, Soviet travel bureau, in Los Angeles, and that he was establishing an office in the Consolidated Building, Los Angeles, where he would book travel for the Soviet Union;

That on a number of occasions I discussed the relationship of the Communist Party members in Los Angeles with the Soviet Union with Albert Keene, Mrs. Helgren and her husband, George Helgren, their opinion being that Communist Party members in Los Angeles, as elsewhere, must look to the Soviet Union as their "fatherland";

That on several occasions I called on Albert Keene in his office in the Consolidated Building, but that I never obtained employment in his office. I have since heard that Albert Keene's differences with officials of the Intourist Bureau resulted in his expulsion from the Communist Party and from all contact with the Communist Party;

That I was in quite desperate financial straits and confided my plight to a social worker, Faiga Fram, whom I had known for some time; Miss Fram informed me that she was a member of the Communist Party, and stated that if I joined the Communist Party she would arrange through other Communist Party members working in the State Emergency Relief Association for that organization to certify me for relief; I informed Miss Fram that I had applied for membership in the Communist Party, and she instructed me to call Eve Solatoy, a supervisor on the State Emergency Relief Administration, and to use her name; I did this and was certified almost immediately. I later discovered that the social worker whom Miss Solatoy sent to investigate my case, Eva Lubell, was a member of the Communist Party; that is, I encountered her in a closed meeting of the Professional Section of the Communist Party sometime in 1937;

That on or about November 7, 1936, I attended a celebration of the founding of the Soviet Union, and there encountered Faiga Fram again, as well as Rose Chernin, Rudy Lambert, and a number of other persons whose names I have forgotten; after the meeting, I went with Miss Fram and several other persons to Ernest Dawson's book store, and found Ernest Dawson in the process of making out reports to Booknega, the Soviet publishing concern, which he stated he represented in Los Angeles; we discussed Communist Party affairs informally for a time, and I was given to understand that I had been "accepted" by the Communist Party social set;

#### WPA HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY

That on or about the twenty-third of December, 1936, R. Frederick Sparks, Supervisor of the WPA Historical Records Survey, a subdivision of the Federal Writers Project, in Los Angeles, requisitioned me from the State Emergency Relief Administration, and put me on the WPA pay roll as his secretary;

That immediately after January 1, 1937, when project workers returned from a vacation (through which I had worked in Mr. Sparks' office), Velda Johnston, one of the workers on the Historical Records Survey, approached me and asked me if I belonged to the Communist Party. She used the term "church," and after some difficulty I understood her to mean the Communist Party, and I explained that I had made application twice. Here I wish to explain that the method used by Miss Johnston in sounding me out on the matter of the Communist Party is general usage in the Communist Party; because of the pervading air of conspiracy and secrecy within the Communist Party no member would think of being direct in his approach to another person; certain esoteric Communist Party terms are used, as for instance, "the church," to mean the Communist Party, or a term like "directive," meaning an order, or "org" meaning "organization"; thus a Communist Party member can ascertain another person's affiliation or sympathy without exposing himself as a member of the Communist Party;

That Miss Johnston informed me that the Communist Party had a special interest in the WPA Historical Records Survey, and that Communist Party members in control of that program requested that those in key positions be members of the Communist Party, and that in order to retain my position as secretary to the supervisor of the project, I would have to get my membership in the Communist Party straightened out;

That I therefore contacted the aforementioned Nan Tolins, whom I knew had taken charge of my second application for membership in the Communist Party, and requested that she assist me; Mrs. Tolins invited me to attend a meeting of her Communist Party unit and there make application; I attended a meeting of a Communist Party unit of the Hollywood Section; about 10 persons were present, but the only person other than Mrs. Tolins whose name I remember is that of Dr. M. H. Braden, a Hollywood chiropractor;

That at that meeting I signed the third application for membership into the Communist Party, and used the name Irene Wood as a party name;

That the strain of unemployment and uncertainty had caused my health to begin to fail, and I mentioned this matter to Mrs. Helgren, whom I continued to contact; Mrs. Helgren advised me to consult Dr. Leo Bigelman, which I did, and in the course of the examination, Dr. Bigelman discussed the matter of the Communist Party with me, and when I told him I had joined it, he revealed himself to me as a Communist Party member; later I saw Dr. Bigelman at general membership meetings of the Communist Party;

That within a few days after my third application to join the Communist Party was made, I received a notice to attend a meeting on North Ogden Drive, Hollywood; although it was a typed, unsigned note, merely requesting my presence at the address at 8 o'clock in the evening on a given day, I knew it was the long-awaited notice to attend Communist Party new members classes;

That on arrival at this address I found several others present; an elderly man informed us that we were the guests of the screen actress, Lucile Ball, and showed us various pictures, books and other objects to

establish that fact, and stated she was glad to loan her home for a Communist Party new members class;

That the instructor introduced himself as Sidney Martin, but I later knew him by the name of Sidney Davidson, which he stated was his true name;

That there were about seven or eight other members of this class, but the only names I recall are those of Herb Harris, an actor, whom I encountered from time to time within the Communist Party, and who took part in the play "*The Blackguard*," which ran for several years in Los Angeles around 1938 and 1939; and Libby Jacobson, who, in 1939, was active in consumer cooperatives in Los Angeles;

That in this new members class, which continued for eight weeks, meeting weekly, we were taught the fundamentals of Stalinist-Leninism-Marxism, that is, Lenin had "interpreted" Marx to suit the conditions of Russia between the years 1900 and 1917, and Stalin had "interpreted" Lenin to suit the political and diplomatic needs of the Soviet Union after the expulsion of Trotsky from the Communist International Executive Committee (called E. C. C. I.—Executive Committee, Communist International) in about 1927; therefore, what we actually learned in the new members class was Stalinism, but we were told it was Marxism; we were given a heavy course of reading on the history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, of Lenin's works as well as a study manual dealing with a simplified course in economics, which explained wars as the outgrowth of imperialism, and "Fascism" as the last stage of imperialism;

That I began to have misgivings about the genuineness of Georgi Dimitroff's "Popular Front" speech as I listened to these patently false teachings—everything was oversimplified and slightly warped—but I felt I should give the Communist Party apparatus time to adjust to the new policy;

That during the time I was attending these new members classes, I was accepted on the Historical Records Survey and Federal Writers Projects (which were housed together at 751 South Figueroa Street) as a Communist Party member, and met in fraction meetings with these other Communist Party members to plan Communist Party control of both projects; other members of this Communist Party fraction were:

Walter McElroy, who later became supervisor of the WPA Federal Writers Project in San Francisco;

Robert Herrick, on the Historical Records Survey;

Velda Johnston, mentioned previously;

Paul Johnson, assistant supervisor on the Federal Writers Project, later (prior to McElroy) supervisor of the Federal Writers Project in San Francisco;

Tillie Lerner, who came to the Federal Writers Project soon afterward, and whose employment on that project was regarded as a Communist Party "victory";

#### AMERICAN WRITERS' UNION

That the first business of this Communist Party fraction on the Federal Writers and Historical Records Survey Projects, to which I belonged, was to attempt to resuscitate the dying American Writers Union, a Communist Party-controlled organization on a Nation-wide

basis, but which was not accomplishing the purposes for which the Communist Party had set up the local chapter of it in Los Angeles; it was supposed to attract non-Communist writers, free-lance fiction writers as well as motion picture writers; but beside the Communist Party leadership in the Los Angeles chapter, there were only a few apathetic stragglers; I was urged to join this union and take part in its activities; this also meant meeting with the Communist Party fraction thereof; we met two or three times in the home of William B. Holther and George Bertholon, on North Toluca Street in Los Angeles, and that fraction consisted of the aforementioned persons belonging to the Communist Party on the Federal Writers and Historical Records Survey, and William B. Holther, who stated he was a member of the Young Communist League; he since broke away from that organization and has given testimony against it;

That other persons who took part in affairs of this aforementioned American Writers Union were Carey McWilliams, who gave an impassioned speech at one of the meetings held in the Unitarian Church, corner of Eighth and Vermont, Los Angeles, and which was generously sprinkled with words and phrases that were pleasing to Communist ears, but which did not serve the purpose of reviving the moribund organization; Beryl La Cava, chairman of the Women's Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, who spoke at one of the meetings, and Edna Silverton, who accompanied Mrs. La Cava, and who, in turn, made a plea to this weak-kneed organization to help her establish a "progressive" book store in Hollywood. She later opened the Twentieth Century Book Store on Western Avenue near Melrose and handled only Communist Party and Communist approved literature;

That on one occasion the Communist Party fraction of the American Writers Union met jointly with the Communist Party fraction of the American Artists Union, and at which meeting, held in a small room in the Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, we laid down the program of joint action between Communist Party members on various WPA cultural projects toward forming a union which would encompass all these cultural projects; besides the aforementioned Communist Party fraction of the American Writers Union, there were, representing the American Artists Union, likewise Communist controlled:

Grace Clement, employed on the WPA Federal Art Project;

Fred Franchi, who had been employed on the Federal Art Project and whose only claim to "art" was his membership in the Communist Party;

Hugh Mason, a worker on the WPA Federal Theatre Project, who spoke in the name of the moribund Contemporary Theatre, likewise a Communist-controlled organization;

Edward Biberman, brother of Herbert Biberman, an artist and leader in the American Artists Union;

Walter Herrick, employed on the Federal Art Project;

That some time in February, 1937, Walter McElroy called together members of the Communist Party on the Federal Writers Project and Historical Records Survey for a week-end meeting in his home, 120 North Douglas Street, Los Angeles, for the purpose of meeting

with Percival (Pete) Fry, a Communist Party member from San Francisco;

That those who attended that meeting besides Fry and McElroy, were myself, Paul Johnson and Robert Herrick, aforementioned. Mr. Fry stated that the State Executive Committee of the Communist Party had worked out a program for the unionization of white collar WPA projects, said program to be initiated by the Communist Party, and that he, Mr. Fry, was sent to Los Angeles by Frank Spector, Communist Party functionary on the said State Executive Committee, to meet with various Communist Party fractions and individuals to get this union project under way; he stated that the Communist Party officials had decided that the American Writers Union was to be discarded as a possible union for the Communist Party to use to control the Federal Writers Projects; likewise, the American Artists Union and the Contemporary Theatre were to be discarded as respective rallying points for the Federal Art and Federal Theatre Projects; that we Communist Party members must set up on the aforementioned, and all other cultural and professional projects in Los Angeles, the American Federation of Government Employees, and that when organized, the California chapters would apply for a National charter in this, an American Federation of Labor, organization; that even if the charter wasn't granted by the National headquarters, we would have a Communist-controlled organization which had derived sufficient benefit from the respectable name of the American Federation of Labor to give it an organizational impetus, and that gradually we Communists would lead this organization through various stages into the Workers Alliance, but that it was decided by the Communist Party officials that the Workers Alliance, whose Communist control was well known, did not have sufficient prestige among professional and white collar workers to gain membership at that time; in other words, he laid down a program of deception by which the Communist Party hoped to gain control of non-Communist members on the WPA professional projects in California; that plan was followed as laid down at that time by Fry, but by the time the WPA workers had been led through the necessary organizational changes, they had dwindled to Communist Party members and sympathizers;

#### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

That several Communist Party fraction meetings were held to lay plans to start the American Federation of Government Employees in Los Angeles; I recall one that was held in the home of Betty Arden, a worker on the WPA Federal Theatre Project and one of the guiding lights in the Contemporary Theatre in Los Angeles; present at that meeting were, besides myself and Betty Arden:

Eli Jacobson, a member of the County Committee of the Communist Party in Los Angeles;

Fred Franchi, aforementioned;

Al Lane (Lewis), then organizer of the Professional Section of the Communist Party in Los Angeles, and several others whose names I do not know;

That at that meeting we laid plans for the graceful demise of the American Writers Union, the American Artists Union and the Con-

temporary Theatre; we were to announce to the project workers who had been faithful to these organizations that they were "just as important as ever" and that they would continue, but that the American Federation of Government Employees would fill a "long-felt need"; then we Communists were to withdraw from active work in the aforementioned doomed organization, and we knew that the non-Communists could not continue their existence;

That I thus learned, before my graduation from the new members class, that Communist Party leadership in American organizations depended solely upon deception; had it not been for the job control which I discovered the Communist Party exercised over the WPA projects, I would have dropped out of the Communist Party at that point;

#### COMMUNIST UNIT 131 PROFESSIONAL SECTION

That upon my graduation from the new members class, I was assigned to Unit 131, Professional Section, which was newly organized; it was comprised of Communist Party members on the Federal Writers, Federal Art and Historical Records Survey, and was split off from Unit 130 (to which it again went); since it was necessary for a unit in the Communist Party to consist of six or more persons, this unit could not begin to function until I was ready for unit work, that is, until graduation from new members class; at that point the Communist Party book is issued;

That members of Unit 131 were as follows:

Walter McElroy, organizer;

Robert Herrick, educational literature director;

Myself, membership director and dues secretary;

Velda Johnston, aforementioned;

Walter Herrick, aforementioned;

Chandler Weston, a photographer on the Federal Art Project, who graduated from another new members class about that time;

That the three first mentioned comprised the "Buro" of this unit; we had special duties and special contacts within other divisions of the Communist Party; for instance, Walter McElroy was a delegate to the Section Committee (Professional Section), and I was, by virtue of the fact that I collected dues in the unit, a member of the Dues Secretaries Commission of the Professional Section, which body met about once a month to devise methods of raising money within the Communist Party;

That in accordance with Communist Party rules of procedure, each unit or branch, when organized, had to make a pledge to the party promising certain accomplishments, and it must also designate a "concentration point," or field of operation—this for the purpose of preventing conflict of Communist Party units in any given field; Unit 130, the parent unit, was pledged to concentrate on organization and cultural guidance in the WPA white collar projects in Los Angeles; Unit 131, our new unit, took this same pledge for the Federal Writers, Federal Art and Educational Projects, leaving the Federal Theatre and Federal Music Projects to Unit 130;

That, in keeping with the unit pledge to guide the policies of the WPA projects in which the members thereof worked, the unit decided that R. Frederick Sparks must be removed from the Historical Records Survey in order that he might be replaced by a Communist Party member; in order to accomplish this purpose Velda Johnston communicated with Communist Party contacts in San Francisco, urging that Communist Party leadership in the Historical Records Survey send someone to Los Angeles; thereupon Sven Skaar, Field Supervisor of the Historical Records Survey in California, arrived in Los Angeles; Velda Johnston introduced him to me as a Communist Party member; Mr. Skaar informed me that the Historical Records Survey was in a position to perform a very vital work for the Communist Party; that workers on that project, in line with the requirements of the project, catalogued Federal, State, county, city, church and labor union records, and that much highly valuable information could thus be obtained for the Communist Party; in addition, workers, if they were Communist Party members, could obtain vital information on the functions of various cities and other branches of government, pending the time the Communist Party took over the reins of government in United States; also these workers had contact with various officials, some of whom might be won over to the Communist Party; he stated that Mr. Sparks was not sympathetic to the Communist Party and must be removed; he instructed me to keep careful note of all Mr. Sparks' activities and also to make extra carbons of all letters he wrote and to forward these reports to him in San Francisco; This I did, and before long Mr. Sparks was called to San Francisco and discharged by Thelma Ziemer, State Director of the Historical Records Survey, who later revealed to me that she was a Communist Party member;

That Sparks was replaced by James Toback, a Communist Party member who had been on the Historical Records Survey in San Diego, and whose transfer I handled within the Communist Party, making him a member of Unit 131; this was in the Spring of 1937;

That shortly thereafter, Mr. Toback employed Seema Matlin, a Communist Party member of long standing, and put her in charge of Historical Records Survey work in Huntington Library, much to the evidenced displeasure of the officials of that library;

That about that time, in the Spring of 1937, Unit 131 was increased by the graduation from new members class of Bee Burke (mother of Katherine Burke, a motion picture actress), who worked on the Federal Art Project; Fred Franchi also came into our Unit 131, in order to work more closely with other members of the Communist Party fraction of the American Federation of Government Employees;

That during this time my Communist Party assignments by no means ended with (1) Unit Buro work; (2) membership in the Communist Party fraction of the American Federation of Government Employees; (3) member of the Professional Section Dues Secretaries Commission; and (4) member of the Communist Party fraction of the combined Federal Writers Project and Historical Records Survey; I was requested also to assist the (5) Communist Party fraction in the League of Women Shoppers;

That in regard to that latter assignment, I met in closed Communist Party fraction meetings with—

Nan Tolins (Nan Golden), executive secretary;  
Davida Corey Franchi (Mrs. Fred Franchi);  
Libby Jacobson, mentioned in new members class; and  
Elf Scharlan, an attorney;

That it developed that the League of Women Shoppers had taken in a number of liberal and labor-minded women in the community who understood the organization was for the benefit of Los Angeles, and who wished to have a say in the affairs of the organization; from a Communist Party standpoint these women presented a serious problem, because the organization was designed, organized and operated exclusively for the benefit of the Communist Party; these aforementioned fraction meetings were called for the purpose of devising means to meet this problem without isolating the enthusiastic women who did not understand the true purpose of the organization;

That Elf Scharlan stood alone in this fraction against Davida Corey Franchi and Nan Tolins, with Libby Jacobson and myself following the lead of the Franchi and Tolins women; Elf Scharlan was "put straight" on the true purpose of the organization and instructed not to permit any democratic expression within the organization, even if it caused membership to drop away;

That I was shocked at this high-handed and autocratic rulership of an organization which I understood came within the scope of the so-called Popular Front which the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International had instituted by accepting the speech of Georgi Dimitroff in August, 1935; I realized that to deceive and to dictate to the public was no proper means of bringing about world betterment; but I was too puzzled and frightened to protest; I suddenly found myself in the midst of exactly the opposite from what I had desired and expected when I joined the Communist Party, but I did not know how to turn back;

That I cautiously discussed some of my misgivings with my comrade Walter McElroy, and he assured me that things would straighten themselves out as soon as older comrades within the party understood the true meaning of the Popular Front; and he explained away the actions of others by saying they were "undeveloped";

#### DUES SECRETARIES COMMISSION

That in the Dues Secretaries Commission of the Professional Section there were the dues secretaries of all the Professional Section, comprising two units of school teachers, one of newspaper workers, one of doctors, one of lawyers, two of social workers, one of pharmacy workers, one unit of architects and engineers, one of WPA Theatre Project (and Music Project) workers, one so-called "hash" unit comprised of a "hash" of professions, our Unit 131 comprised of WPA Federal Writers and Federal Art Projects workers; that this commission met once a month, never with full membership present, in the home of Ann Howe, Dues Secretary of the Professional Section to whom we turned over our moneys, at 3224 Beverly Boulevard, a house which had been rented by the Communist Party for the moribund

Contemporary Theatre; Jay Moss, a Negro Communist Party member in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, also lived at that address;

That, besides persons whose names I did not know, Ann Howe, and myself, this commission comprised:

Martin Irons, (husband of Urcel Daniel of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild), Dues Secretary for, I believe, a social workers unit;

Sid Burke, Dues Secretary for the Newspaper Guild Unit;

Luba Fox, Dues Secretary for the Federal Theatre Project Unit;

Marcia ———, a Negro school teacher, for one of the teachers' units;

Marge Comey (she had another name also which I do not know);

That aforementioned Martin Irons generally drove me home from the meeting, and on one occasion told me he was leaving the Dues Secretaries Commission to take a job organizing in the CIO in Douglas Aircraft, and then outlined to me the Communist Party program in relation to aircraft plants, pointing out that they occupied a strategic position in war industry and that in order to gain control of the country the Communist Party must control such bottlenecks of war industry; that his success in that field is unknown to me, because the next I heard of Martin Irons, he occupied an important position in the California State Department of Motor Vehicles;

That on one occasion my comrade and coworker Seema Matlin invited me to sit in on a Communist Party fraction meeting of the Women's Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, which about that time was changing its name on Communist Party order to the American League for Peace and Democracy; that this order was the main topic of discussion at the aforementioned meeting, and likewise the subjects of coordinating so-called "mass organization" work of the Communist Party was discussed; present at this meeting, besides several whose names I do not know, were:

Seema Matlin, one-time paid secretary in the office of the American League Against War and Fascism;

Beryl La Cava, chairman of the women's committee of said organization:

Rose Dreher, mentioned previously in relation to the Cuban Committee, and with whom Seema Matlin was at that time living; and

Davida Corey Franchi, who was known to the general membership of the American League Against War and Fascism as "Davida Corey," while she used "Davida Franchi" for her work in the League of Women Shoppers, thereby, as she explained to me, avoiding the likelihood of detection as a Communist Party member (though I must say this line of reasoning did not convince me);

#### COMMUNIST PARTY FRACTION

That the Communist Party effort to organize the American Federation of Government Employees was proceeding apace with all the other aforementioned work during the spring of 1937; the Communist Party fraction of this organization which acted as a "steering committee," met weekly at my home, 1323 W. Fourth Street, Los Angeles, and was made up of Communist Party members and Young Communist League members of the various cultural and professional WPA projects

in Los Angeles; the work of this fraction consisted not only in organizing and controlling said union for the WPA projects, but in coordinating this work with the Communist Party's work in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, in the local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers, with the CIO Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians, and even with the CIO Industrial Union Council in Los Angeles; also we had to consider the eventuality of merging with the Workers Alliance, and coordinate our work with that organization, which was completely under Communist Party control; also consideration was given to Communist Party work in such mass organizations as the National Negro Congress, the aforementioned American League for Peace and Democracy and its Siamese-twin organization in Hollywood, the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League;

That while it is impossible to describe the vast network of interlocking Communist Party fractions, commissions, committees and special committees which harmonized and coordinated the extensive undertakings of the Communist Party and so directed the work that the energy of one person could be as effective as the energy of one hundred or more uncoordinated individuals, this aforementioned example of one small and relatively insignificant Communist Party fraction might serve to illustrate the extensive and intricately balanced machinery of the secret Communist Party in United States;

That while this aforementioned fraction fluctuated, those in regular attendance were, as I recall them:

Carl Brant, organizer of a dying organization on the WPA Federal Theatre which must be replaced by the aforementioned American Federation of Government Employees; (This is the same Carl Brant who is at this writing a representative of the CIO United Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers of America on the War Manpower Commission in Oakland);

Mary Virginia Farmer, supervisor of the Southwest Unit of the WPA Federal Theatre Project, a personal friend from Vassar College days of Hallie Flanagan, National Director of the Federal Theatre Project;

Ben Goodman, a singer on the WPA Federal Music Project;

Fred Franchi, then employed on a WPA Educational Project;

Walter McElroy;

Robert Herrick;

Walter Herrick; brother of Robert;

Martha Herrick; sister of Robert and Walter;

Another Herrick sister, twin--both these girls were on the WPA Music Project;

Betty Arden, who left early in 1937 for the Northwest;

Donald Murray, member of the Southwest Unit, Federal Theatre;

Dorothy Rodin, sister of Emil Freed, organizer of the Hollywood Section, Communist Party; an actress on Federal Theatre;

Leona McGenty, a teacher on the Federal Theatre Project;

Howland Chamberlain, an actor on the Federal Theatre Project (he has since become the manager of the Communist Party's Progressive Book Store on W. Sixth Street, Los Angeles);

James Toback, aforementioned;

Seema Matlin, aforementioned;

Velda Johnston, aforementioned;

That among those who were invited to sit in for one or more conferences in order to coordinate special work in other branches of Communist Party endeavor, were:

Samuel Kalish, teacher, then trying to hold together a dying Teacher's Union, in opposition to the American Federation of Teachers, into which I understand he later went—and who at present writing is an examiner in the California Labor Commission in Los Angeles;

Eli Jacobson, leader of some underground cultural work in Hollywood, active in the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, and paramour of Beryl La Cava, former wife of the motion picture director, Gregory La Cava;

Sid Burke, of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild and a member of the staff of the publication for the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League*, N. O. W.;

That the plan for establishment of a Communist controlled union to lead WPA cultural and professional project workers into the Workers Alliance by a series of deceptive processes was successful; the Communist Party fraction aforementioned established the American Federation of Government Employees on the WPA cultural and professional projects in Los Angeles; Fred Franchi was president; Walter McElroy was secretary, I was treasurer, and several non-Communists were drawn in for other, less important union positions;

#### COMMUNIST CONTROL OF UNIONS

That before continuing with the progress of this union development I wish to cite an instance typical of the manner in which the Communist Party retains control of unions; Florence Artman, a member of the publicity staff of the Federal Theatre Project, took an active part in the organization of this union, but she opposed the election of Fred Franchi as president. Inasmuch as he was the Communist Party choice it was necessary for every Communist to put forth all effort to elect him and to elevate him in prestige with the project workers, therefore Florence Artman's opposition was given serious consideration by the Communist Party fraction, aforementioned; it was the fraction decision, and therefore binding upon every Communist Party member in that union, to utilize a process of discrediting her in the eyes of all project coworkers and the community at large; the Communists announced, by decision of said fraction, that they would "isolate, expose and expel" Florence Artman, as an "enemy of the working class"; with Leona McGenty and Fred Franchi as the mental geniuses in this program, a plan of malicious gossip was devised; we Communists were to tell everyone who would listen that Florence Artman was "mentally and emotionally unstable," that she was a sexual pervert and that she was "in the pay of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association." As planned, our gossip brought her near the point of nervous collapse; other Communist forces caused her dismissal from her position on the project, and with each outbreak of hers against what she felt to be injustice, we derided her for "hysteria"; until at last, few project workers would listen to her stories against Fred Franchi; and as an offshoot of that campaign, a friend and coworker of Florence Artman at that time, Louise Young, committed suicide;

That this fiendish calculation to destroy the reputation, the mind and the ability of a person to make a living revolted me and preyed upon my mind, and I remonstrated privately with Leona McGenty for instigating, sanctioning and even compelling other Communist Party members to indulge in that inhuman practice; Mrs. McGenty merely laughed at me and stated, "We must destroy our enemies by whatever method we can; we must regard a *lie* as a tactical maneuver." She went on to state that, according to official teachings of the Communist Party, that Communist work was to be conducted as a war, and that "all was fair" in war;

That our union, the American Federation of Government Employees, was denied a charter by the International headquarters of that organization, which was an old American Federation of Labor union for government workers, on the grounds that WPA workers were not eligible for membership in that union; that this was foreseen was evident from the mention by Percival Fry when he brought our Communist Party fraction word to start organizing this union; he had made it clear the Communist Party had chosen this particular union *because* it was a foregone conclusion they would not accept WPA workers, therefore, the membership would be satisfied to accept "the next best thing," which would be a step nearer the Workers' Alliance; we put up a sham battle in order to impress our membership, then recommended as a "next best thing" that we call ourselves the California Federation of Government Employees; the next step was to apply for a C. I. O. charter, which Communist Party contacts through Fred Franchi and Al Lane (Lewis) informed us was not coming through, on Communist Party orders to and through C. I. O. channels; when the C. I. O. turned down a charter, we led our membership, still unsuspecting of our trickery, into a State-wide organization of WPA white collar workers, and the name was changed to conform to the name used in San Francisco, to The Cultural and Professional Projects Association; this name change took place in June, 1937, convention in San Francisco which I attended; at the next State-wide convention, held in 1938, this group became the white collar section of the Workers' Alliance, officially, but as stated before the membership had dwindled by that time;

#### SAN FRANCISCO CULTURAL AND PROFESSIONAL FRACTION

That the Communist Party fraction of the San Francisco Cultural and Professional Projects Association, to the best of my recollection, with whom I met in that city at the time of the aforementioned convention, were:

Percival (Pete) Fry, elected president of the State-wide organization; from Federal Writers Project;

Dorothy Sawvelle, who had been Secretary of the San Francisco American Federation of Government Employees, and who had been dismissed from the Federal Writers Project;

Herbert Nugent, Federal Writers Project;

Lawrence Estavan, Federal Writers Project;

Helen Cross, Federal Theatre Project;

Ada Clement, from Oakland;

Dr. Henry Scholtz, Historical Records Survey, San Francisco;

Walter Matlin, brother of Seema Matlin, and a worker in a State Relief Administration project;

That this is less than half the number of Communist Party members with whom I met at that time, but I do not recall the other names;

That also, on the occasion of that trip to San Francisco, I met in Communist Party fraction meetings with members on the San Francisco Historical Records Survey, who were:

Thelma Ziemer, State Director;

Sven Skaar, State Field Supervisor;

Dr. Henry Scholtz, aforementioned;

Norah Follman, Secretary of the Project in San Francisco; and two or three others whose names I have forgotten;

That on that occasion I called on Paul Johnson who had been transferred from Los Angeles to the San Francisco Federal Writers Project in a supervisorial capacity; he introduced me to another Federal Writers Project supervisor, Robert Muir, informing me in the introduction that Muir was "a comrade"; I discussed Communist Party affairs with Muir at that time, and later he called on me in Los Angeles (sometime in the Spring of 1938) and informed me that he had been sent to Los Angeles as an official of the National Labor Relations Board; I read in the newspapers that Muir handled the balloting of the United Studio Technicians' Guild (C. I. O.) against the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (A. F. L.) for collective bargaining rights in the motion picture studios in 1939;

That while I was in San Francisco at that time, namely, in June, 1937, I contacted persons with whom I had had correspondence in the New Theatre League on Green Street in San Francisco, and in discussing theatre matters with the secretary, Frances Burge, discovered it was a Communist Party project; I made my membership known, and was invited to sit in on the Communist Party unit meeting of this group; there were about 10 members of that unit, all active in the production, "*Bury the Dead*," an antiwar play by Irwin Shaw; and I learned from the business of the unit that the play was selected because it expressed the current Communist Party line; when the curtain rose, I encountered Robert Muir in the audience, and again spoke with him; Helen Cross, aforementioned, was a member of this theatre group and director of the play, "*Bury the Dead*," although she was an employee on the Federal Theatre Project at that time;

That, returning to the affairs of the Historical Records Survey and Federal Writers Project in Los Angeles in the Spring and Summer of 1937, James Burford was employed on the Federal Writers Project early in the spring of 1937 and met with our Communist Party fraction of the combined Federal Writers Project and Historical Records Survey, of which I had been elected secretary; said James Burford, by reason of his employment on the Federal Writers Project, was eligible for membership in our Unit 131 for Communist Party members of that project, but he neglected to attend unit meetings; however, he purchased Communist Party dues stamps from me, as dues secretary of the unit;

That an event which stands out in my mind was the furtive planning in which our Communist Party fraction of the Federal Writers Project

and Historical Records Survey engaged in order for said James Burford to get a leave of absence from the Federal Writers Project in order to attend the May 1, 1937 National Convention of the Young Communist League in New York; we arranged alibis so that he could pretend to be "ill," and when he returned around the middle of May, we Communists jokingly urged him to "look as pale as possible";

#### REMOVING NON-COMMUNISTS

That the Los Angeles director of the Federal Writers Project, Hugh Harlan, was not sympathetic in any way with the Communist Party, and one of the main orders of business of our aforementioned fraction was to effect his removal from that project;

That every possible complaint was launched against him with Henry G. Alsberg, National Director of the Federal Writers Project and whom, we were informed through Communist Party channels, was friendly to Communists;

That eventually said Henry G. Alsberg sent one of his national field representatives, Claire Laning, to Los Angeles to investigate conditions on the Federal Writers Project, and that our Communist Party fraction, composed of Walter McElroy, Robert Herrick, Tillie Lerner and myself, called on said Claire Laning, as "representatives of the union," and after a certain amount of parrying, found him sympathetic to Communists; we then proceeded to fill his ears with grievances against said Hugh Harlan, most of which were about his "reactionary" attitude;

That our efforts were successful was proven when Harlan was dismissed from the Los Angeles Federal Writers Project by the National office in the latter part of 1937, and he was replaced by a regime friendly to the Communist Party (of which there will be more later);

That some time in the early Spring of 1937, Dr. Paul Radin, of University of California and one of the State sponsors for the Historical Records Survey, dropped in at the Los Angeles office; Sven Skaar was present, and introduced me to Dr. Radin as "a comrade"; Dr. Radin launched into a long discussion of the possibilities of the Historical Records Survey for doing useful work for the Communist Party, of which he readily admitted himself to be a member;

That Dr. Paul Radin stated he was planning to leave very soon for China and other points in the Orient ostensibly to do anthropology research, but that he was going to attend to certain matters (which he did not elaborate on) for the Communist Party; at that time he made the statement there should be an Historical Records Survey Project in Manila, operated, of course, by Communist Party members, in order to provide certain facilities for coordinating Communist Party work in the Orient with that in the United States;

That several months later and without any reference to Dr. Radin's remarks, Thelma Ziemer, State Director of the Historical Records Survey, on one of her trips to Los Angeles, informed me she planned to establish branches of the California Historical Records Survey in both Honolulu and Manila, and that she was counting on me for the Manila project; this plan did not bear fruit, to which fact I probably owe my life;

**"LOYALIST" SPAIN**

That in the Summer of 1937 the Communist Party was carrying on an extensive campaign to assist the Loyalist government of Spain in its war against Francisco Franco; all Communist Party members were required not only to read a vast amount of literature giving the Communist Party version of this war, but to take part in the campaign of raising money, recruiting volunteers to go to Spain to fight, and to proselyte the public about the cause of Loyalist Spain; in my capacity as Dues Secretary of Unit 131, I was instructed to make certain collections from the unit members for this cause, which moneys I turned over to Ann Howe, Professional Section Dues Secretary;

That there was general recognition within the Communist Party that the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Medical and Technical Aid to Spain were Communist Party organizations; in fact, I received a letter from Beulah Kashins (Kay), a secretary in the National headquarters in New York for the Medical and Technical Aid to Spain in which she mentioned her Communist Party membership and the fact that the organization was under Communist Party direction; I had known Beulah Kashins (Kay) at Universal Studios, prior to the time either one of us had joined the Communist Party;

That in keeping with that program to aid the Loyalists in Spain, I interceded on behalf of Alpheus Prowell, a Negro Communist Party member who belonged to Unit 130, Federal Theatre Project Unit of the Professional Section with Communist Party officials in the Los Angeles County headquarters requesting that they speed up the transfer of said Alpheus Prowell from the Communist Party of United States of America to the Communist Party of Spain so that he might join the International Brigade in Spain; said Alpheus Prowell left some time in the Summer of 1937, and has since returned to California; it is my understanding he fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the American section of the International Brigades of Spain;

**NEGRO COMMISSION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

That I was "co-opted" (a Communist Party term meaning drafted) for duty in the Negro Commission of the Communist Party in Los Angeles some time in the Summer of 1937, and attended one meeting of said Negro Commission, held in the home of Al Bryan (Ryan), a county functionary of the Communist Party and teacher in the Workers School;

That those present at that meeting besides Al Ryan and his wife, Maureen Ryan, were:

Leona McGenty, previously mentioned;

Olga Kreuger, an actress on the Federal Theatre Project and member of Unit 130, Professional Section;

Jay Moss, Negro, who spoke in behalf of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, and two or three others whose names I have forgotten;

That the purpose of this Negro Commission was to coordinate agitation among the Negroes and for the Negroes within various mass organizations controlled by or influenced by the Communist Party; as an illustration: Jay Moss would take decisions of this Commission to

the Communist Party fraction of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, resolutions and proposals would be drafted by that fraction, and introduced at regular meetings of that organization; then, when passed—as all Communist-controlled organizations always pass the fraction resolution—these resolutions would be given publicity in the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League publication, N. O. W., and in turn picked up as “vital news” by other Communist-controlled publications to attempt to delude the public into believing that this resolution was a spontaneous matter with the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, and so on, all the way through the organizations which the Communists influenced, until after a few weeks the proposals drafted by our Negro Commission, which of course must hew to the current Communist Party line on Negro work, would fan out to look like they were the wishes of many thousands of people; such is the power of Communist Party coordination;

#### COMMUNIST PARTY TRADE UNION SCHOOL

That I attended a Communist Party Trade Union week-end school in the Summer of 1937, which combined the work of unions within the Professional Section to which I belonged, and the Harbor Section; unions of the Professional Section represented were: Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, with Jay Moss and Sid Burke as representatives; the Social Workers’ Guild, which at that time was transforming itself into the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, C. I. O., represented by two young women whose names I have forgotten; the Teachers’ Union, referred to previously as in a dying condition, represented by Marge Comey; the California Federation of Government Employees, represented by Fred Franchi and myself; from the Harbor Section the International Longshoremen’s Association was represented by a man whose name I do not remember, and the American Communications Association was represented by another man whose name I do not recall; the Harbor Section of the Communist Party was represented by Jack Moore, Organizer; the Trade Union Commission of the Los Angeles County Communist Party, the official body set up to coordinate all trade union fraction work, was represented by John Sargent, business agent for the A. F. L. Culinary Workers and Bartenders’ Union; and Communist Party officials who conducted these coordinated classes were Al Bryan (Ryan), County Educational Director for the Communist Party and Al Lane (Lewis), organizer for the Professional Section;

The purpose of the aforementioned week-end school was to instruct the white collar unions, through the Communist leaders thereof, in the ways and means of conducting labor struggles along true Communist lines, as exemplified by the strikes conducted on the Pacific Coast by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific; the strikes of 1934 and of 1936 conducted by that organization and its component unions were regarded officially by the Communist Party leadership as perfect samples of “class struggle” activities, and there were no punches pulled as to the revolutionary goal of strikes of that sort; they were designed to lead to revolution, and revolution along Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist lines, with the Communist Party in the “vanguard”; our

white collar unions were important to the unions in production and transportation bottlenecks in that said white collar unions could allay the fears of the populace by propaganda, assist in organizing sympathy strikes, and paralyze resistance against Communist-led general strikes;

That in these classes at said week-end Trade Union School no mention was made of the rosy promises of "collaboration" with non-Communist labor and liberal organizations, as given by Georgi Dimitroff in his speech to the Seventh World Congress; and it was therefore not difficult for me to ascertain that these promises which I had mistaken for sincere desire were naught but camouflage to conceal the Communist International intentions to create world revolution;

#### MEANING OF "POPULAR FRONT"

That it troubled me sorely that I had so completely deceived myself about the Communist Party; I was chagrined and baffled, and caustically discussed the Popular Front policies with various Communist leaders such as John Sargent, Fred Franchi, Walter McElroy, Al Lane (Lewis), Leona McGenty and others, and gained from them the information that the Popular Front tactic was "a means to an end," and along the lines of revolutionary strategy laid down by Lenin, and the ethics of such deception were summed up in Lenin's words that "the end justifies the means";

That I then understood that the abandonment by the Communist International in the Seventh World Congress of 1935 of the old policy of "world revolution" by violence, "rum, riot and rebellion," as voiced by Communist orators in United States, was merely suppressed in propaganda and oratory in order to deceive, and that it existed in a much more deadly form in the secret teachings of the Communist Party;

That this shame and disillusionment caused me to lose interest in Communist endeavors, and I began looking for a way to get untangled from the Communist network; and that from that point on, my Communist Party work was half-hearted, as I vacillated between a desire to "make the best of a bad bargain" and to find a means of escape;

That at this point I wish to describe the method by which an innocent person is trapped within the Communist Party; in the first place when he joins, he is instructed to "burn his bridges behind him"; he must cease relationship with former friends and even family unless they are sympathetic or susceptible to Communist teachings; he is given a course of training which is designed to cause him to discard all his beliefs in morals and ethics; he is taught to regard persons only from the standpoint of their usefulness to the Communist Party; that there is no wrong except a wrong to the Communist Party, be it deception, robbery or even murder; that the democratic form of government, as it exists in United States, was but an expression of capitalist exploitation and therefore must be abolished with capitalism; that religion was but an opiate of the people; that there was no truth except that voiced by Joseph Stalin and the Communist International;

That I had disregarded these teachings in the New Members Class because I regarded them as silly hangovers from the "Third Period," or that period of Communist history which preceded the Popular Front, and felt they would be abandoned when the Popular Front theories seeped through the world Communist apparatus; but I found

they were basic and that they must be revered as orthodox teachings, and to doubt them would be to reveal heresy;

That it was the prevailing fanaticism, the religious fervor and unreasoning devotion of my comrades that alarmed me as much as the diabolical network of espionage which is woven around a Communist Party member; I knew that to break from the Communist Party would bring down upon one's head the most fiendish sort of punishment that could be devised by these fanatics—and in which they dared to indulge;

That a Communist Party member is pledged to carry out all orders of the party in a military manner; that he is given occupation for all his leisure hours, meetings almost daily, and thousands of other tasks, that he is in constant, even hourly touch with his squad leader, and therefore has no opportunity to slip away and think things out; that wherever possible, persons who are losing faith in the Communist Party are forced to live with faithful members, or a member of their family or close circle is assigned to spy on the suspect's every movement, to report all persons he contacts, and especially to note all his reading matter and the manner in which he spent any scraps of leisure time;

That there is also the matter of involvement in illegal activities; the Communist Party member is constantly reminded, by word and deed, that he is engaged in illegal work and that if he doesn't want to go through with his bargain he can be turned over to authorities. Undoubtedly many members are assigned to illegal tasks, but those who are engaged in routine work which is entirely legal from any standpoint, are made to believe they are engaged in "dangerous underground work," and therefore kept in fear of betraying Communist Party secrets; and also Communist Party members are constantly hammered with the idea that all agents and agencies of government, from police officers to the Supreme Court, are "enemies," and are to be treated as such; the Communist Party member is impressed with the idea that agencies of government are to be held in contempt; that he need have no respect for an oath or a law; that no law is sacred but that of the Communist International;

That, therefore, few Communist Party members have the ingenuity or the courage to break out of the trap;

#### COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP COMMISSION

That at the point where I was becoming aware of these things, my comrades devised schemes to involve me in new work; in the first place I was invited by the Professional Section Membership Director, Jane Howe (no relation to Ann Howe) to attend the Membership Commission meetings, which were held in the quarters of Ethel Holmstock in the Pacific Art Institute Building, now torn down, on the corner of Vermont and Wilshire; this commission was composed of, besides Jane Howe and Ethel Holmstock, the following:

Dr. Samuel Marcus, Communist Party "psychiatrist," who is at present a member of the Los Angeles County Board of Alienists and a superior court psychiatrist;

Dr. Leo Bigelman, aforementioned;

Joseph Aidlin and his wife,

Mary Aidlin;

Donald Murray, from Unit 130, and

Norman Byrne from a teachers' unit; this is the same Norman Byrne who became so active in the American Peace Mobilization in Los Angeles; he is an instructor at Los Angeles City College;

Others whose names I do not recall;

That in the meetings of said Membership Commission, we discussed the psychology to use on new members in the Communist Party, whom and how to recruit members from the so-called "bourgeoisie," or general society which had not been indoctrinated by Marxism, Socialism or Communism; in fact, the Membership Commission composed an essay which was incorporated into a pamphlet and sold throughout the Communist Party in California entitled "Whom and How to Recruit," most of which dealt with the methods of deceiving ordinary Americans into thinking "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism," and how to hold them in the party once they began to lose their illusions—though of course such frank terms were not used in the discussion;

That after several discussions with Dr. Samuel Marcus about the psychology of Stalinism-Leninism-Marxism I came to a much fuller understanding of the profound depths of intrigue, conspiracy and treachery to which the Communist International descended in its struggle for world power, and I owe a great deal to Dr. Marcus for giving me a basic understanding of this apparatus, which understanding I am using, and intend to continue to use, to expose this sinister and inhuman political machine; that needless to say, however, Dr. Marcus gave me this instruction apparently in the hope I would wax enthusiastic over this thorough and scientifically exact method of conquest;

#### WORKERS' ALLIANCE FRACTION

That at this period of which I speak, around July, 1937, our Unit 131 lost its organizer, Walter McElroy when he was transferred to San Francisco by the WPA and Unit 131 then merged with Unit 130, thus bringing together in one unit the entire fraction of the California Federation of Government Employees; and that said fraction had established contact with the fraction of the Workers Alliance in order to better coordinate Communist Party work within the unions on WPA, and that at various times I met in fraction meetings with such Workers Alliance leaders as:

Alexander Noral, State President of the Workers Alliance;

Pat Calahan, Los Angeles Organizer of that organization who soon left it to take up work in the C. I. O. United Cannery Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA);

John Clifton, who had emerged from jail for some Communist Party work and therefore had to be "taken care of" by the Communist Party (which discussion I sat in on);

Al Heltness, who turned over the reins of organizational work to Oscar Fuss, whom I heard referred to as a member of the Communist Party, but with whom I did not meet;

That the aforementioned Unit 130 was composed of the following persons, some of whom were transferred and some of whom came in at a later date:

Leona McGenty, Organizer;

Donald Murray, Membership Director;

Carl Brant, Educational Director;  
Dorothy Rodin, sister of Emil Freed, Organizer of the Hollywood Section; Dues Secretary;  
Theodore Pezman, Press Director (*People's Daily World.*);  
Howland Chamberlain, Literature Director;  
That this was the Buro of said unit at the time of merger, but the composition of which changed shortly thereafter;  
Sharley Simpson, an actress on the Federal Theatre Project;  
Hugh Mason, who was soon transferred to the Hollywood Section to work with Jeff Kibre in the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, Local 37;  
Alfred Grant, Negro; now a screen actor;  
Beatrice Newport, actress on the Federal Theatre Project;  
Darby Jones, Negro dancer, then on Federal Theatre Project, now in motion pictures;  
Evelyn Jones, wife of Darby Jones, who claimed to be a maid in the home of Marion Davies;  
Barney Brown, actor on the Federal Theatre Project;  
Earl Faullin, actor on the Federal Theatre Project;  
Pearl Greenbaum, actress on the Federal Theatre Project, who used the name Katherine Allen;  
Loren Gage (Loren Finch Gage, also Loren Gage Eigenmann), actor, who, I have been told recently, is now a commissioned officer in the United States Army;  
Bee Burke, aforementioned;  
Fred Franchi, aforementioned;  
Roth Reynolds, Federal Art Project;  
Seema Matlin, aforementioned;  
James Toback, aforementioned;  
Velda Johnston, aforementioned;  
Mary Virginia Farmer, aforementioned;  
William Gordon, Negro, singer, Federal Theatre Project;  
Kenneth Patterson, actor, who was later featured in the Hollywood Theatre Alliance production, "*Meet the People*";  
Walter Worden, actor, who, in 1941, was employed at Douglas Aircraft in Santa Monica;  
Betty Falawn, common-law wife of Earl Faullin;  
Olga Kreuger, aforementioned;  
Walter Herrick, aforementioned;  
Charles Maddox, Federal Art Project;  
Luba Fox, dancer;  
Bella Lewwitski, dancer;  
Nathan Kirkpatrick, dancer, who, I have been told, is an officer in the United States Air Corps in Hawaii;  
Ben Goodman, aforementioned; frequently his wife, Betty Elwell, who did office work in Communist Party headquarters, sat in Unit meetings;  
That not long after this merger the dancers formed a separate unit with other Communist Party dancers in Los Angeles County, some of whom were said to compose the Horton Dance Group, among whom were Letitia Innes, wife of Sid Burke, whom I met as a Communist

comrade; also Jacobina Caro, wife of Sid Martin (Davidson), belonged to the Communist Party fraction on the Federal Theatre Project but joined the Dancers' Unit instead of 130;

That with respect to said Jacobina Caro, the Communist Party fraction on the WPA cultural projects, aforementioned, conspired to get said Jacobina Caro on WPA by faking qualifications; she was instructed to use the address of Ann Howe, aforementioned, 3224 Beverly Blvd., to pretend to be destitute and thus to pass through State Relief Administration for WPA;

#### COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP DRIVES

That at that time, Summer of 1937, Paul Cline had taken office as Secretary of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County, and in keeping with the Popular Front tactics, endeavored to widen the scope of Communist Party activity in Los Angeles County; recruiting drives were organized, new members were taken into the party who would not have been considered qualified a few months previous; general membership meetings were held, and activity was extended in every manner;

That I had several meetings with the wife of Paul Cline, whose name I believe was Clara Stevens (now, 1942, said to be the common-law wife of Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian); and that said Clara Stevens outlined to me and others present, among whom I recall Leona McGentry, plans for a women's commission within the Communist Party to coordinate work of such organizations as the League of Women Shoppers, the fractions of the women's auxiliaries in various trade unions, the Women's Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy and in general to attempt to reach the housewives of Los Angeles with Communist influence;

That Al Lane (Lewis) was sent East by the Communist Party and his place as organizer of the Professional Section was taken by Robert Cole (Cohn), a former social worker, and whom I have been reliably informed had been a functionary in the Communist Party in Alameda County;

#### COLLECTIVE PLAYWRITING

That Mary Virginia Farmer reported to said Unit 130 that the National fraction of the Federal Theatre Project, of which she was a member, had decided that in order to advance Communist Party cultural endeavors, the Federal Theatre Project in each locality over the Nation would set up a unit to deal with history, as interpreted by the Communist Party, of that particular locality; Miss Farmer informed us that the National Director of the Federal Theatres, Hallie Flanagan, was a Communist Party member and was in agreement with that Communist Party decision; be that as it may, the Communist Party fraction of the Federal Theatre Project in Los Angeles organized the Southwest Unit of the Federal Theatres composed entirely of Communist Party members and sympathizers, with the exception of the secretary thereof, who, I have since learned, was keeping a very careful record of Communist activities in the Southwest Unit at that time; correspondence with National officials of the Federal Theatre Project, which I saw, indicated that Hallie Flanagan was in complete agreement with the idea of the Southwest Unit of the Federal Theatre; later, in the

late Fall of 1937, Miss Flanagan together with Mrs. Ellen Woodward, National Director of Women's and Professional Work in the WPA, called on the Southwest Unit and voiced perfect satisfaction with its work, despite the fact said unit was not only writing Communist propaganda into the play it was preparing, but also rehearsing and conducting schools of the theatre along the accepted Communist Party lines, that is, the Stanislavsky method, which originated in Moscow;

That in August, 1937, said Mary Virginia Farmer requested me to join the Southwest Unit in order to assist in the writing of a play about migratory workers which was to give dramatic expression to the current Communist Party line on the floods of "Okies" who were overrunning California;

That, in accordance to Communist Party decision, upon which I acted, I requested transfer from the Historical Records Survey to the Federal Theatre Project of the WPA, and overcame protests of Thelma Ziemer, aforementioned, who had plans of sending me to Manila for the Communist Party;

That from August 25, 1937, to July, 1938, I was involved in writing Communist Party propaganda into play form, and the result, "Sun Rises in the West," which was produced by the Federal Theatres at the Mayan Theatre and later at the Greek Theatre, was by no means worth the effort;

That the birth and upbringing of the Southwest Unit of the Federal Theatres was a tremendous Communist Party ceremony in that it was the first of its kind in United States, namely a government theatre in the hands of the Communist Party; Robert Cole, Paul Cline and other Communist Party functionaries envisioned a vast network of such theatres, like there was in Russia: Mary Virginia Farmer, Donald Murray, Theodore Pezman, Carl Brant, Kenneth Patterson, Howland Chamberlain, Loren Gage, (Eisenmann); Leona McGenty and others envisioned themselves becoming famous theatre personalities decorated with the American Communist Party equivalent of the Order of Lenin;

That in fact everyone was so dazzled by the possibilities of this great future Communist Party state theatre, that they couldn't get down to the humdrum task of writing and producing a play; the greatest part of the time was taken up in "discussing theory," which was a neat way of saying "collective pipe dreaming"; after the first bubbling enthusiasm subsided, the Communist Party fraction of the said Southwest Unit of the Federal Theatre, and which was the ruling force in that government project, were:

Mary Virginia Farmer, Director;

Donald Murray, Assistant Director, and writer;

Theodore Pezman, writer and Publicity Director;

Myself, writer;

Barney Brown, actor;

Earl Faullin, actor;

Howland Chamberlain, actor;

Betty Falawn, actress;

Walter Worden, actor;

Carl Brant, actor;

Dorothy Rodin, actress;

Lillian Sidery, actress, a fellow traveler who didn't join the Communist Party until around 1938;

Beatrice Newport, actress, who came into the Communist Party in the latter part of 1937;

Sharley Simpson, who found herself counted out of parts in the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*";

Kenneth Patterson, and

Loren Gage (Eisenmann) met with the fraction, but were unable to retain their WPA status because WPA authorities discovered they were not in financial need;

That in the throes of playwriting, John Howard Lawson, and a Professor Lewis met with our fraction to assist in the problems of converting Communist propaganda into play form; that these so-called experts in the dramatic field offered no concrete suggestions in so far as I could see; they merely ranted about our responsibilities as Communist Party members;

That the fraction secretary of the Southwest Unit, Theodore Pezman, was instructed by Robert Cole (Cohn) to communicate with the fraction secretary of the Simon J. Lubin Society in San Francisco to obtain research material which that organization had turned over to John Steinbeck for his book (then unnamed) "*Grapes of Wrath*," and which material Steinbeck had returned; it was tacitly understood that the Simon J. Lubin Society was completely under the domination of the Communist Party; when this aforementioned material arrived, I examined it carefully and found notes in handwriting signed by John Steinbeck which appeared to be field notes on migratory workers;

That the writing team consisted of Theodore Pezman, Donald A. Murray and myself, although Mary Virginia Farmer quibbled over every line; then the entire Communist Party fraction had to arrive at a decision by discussion and vote; then the said fraction had to present its decision before a meeting of the Southwest Unit in order to convince the few non-Communists therein; and the entire process was complicated by the fact the actors had to choose their own parts and "improvise" them, according to the best Stanislavsky methods; and that somewhere in the process I became so disgusted I failed to record the silly antics of my comrades;

That a screen actor, J. Edward Bromberg, who was called "Joe," appeared at rehearsal hall several times to "assist," and who met as a Communist Party member with our aforesaid fraction; from conversation I learned that said J. Edward Bromberg had been associated with Mary Virginia Farmer in the New York theatre, and he frankly stated he regarded the Stanislavsky method, for writing a play, as stupid;

That from time to time Mary Virginia Farmer had me telephone Viola Brothers Shore to arrange Communist Party fraction meetings, and that I discussed with both Miss Shore and Miss Farmer other members of that fraction as Tatiana Tuttle and her husband, Frank Tuttle, the motion picture director; that Mary Virginia Farmer reported to our Southwest Unit fraction that she belonged to the Hollywood Cultural Commission, of which the aforesaid persons were members, and that she was "coordinating" the work of the Federal Theatres with that of the motion picture colony;

That Margarete Clark, then a member of the Los Angeles Board of Education, since appointed head of the Women's Division of the Industrial Welfare Commission of California by Governor Olson, called several times to see Mary Virginia Farmer and expressed an interest in the work of the said Southwest Unit and otherwise indicated her sympathy for Communist Party work; Miss Farmer referred to her as a Communist fellow traveler;

That during the time I was involved in writing the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*," my other Communist Party work was somewhat reduced, in that the Communist Party officially recognized the composition of that play as Communist Party work; however, I remained active in the California Federation of Government Employees which had been transformed into the Cultural and Professional Projects Association (some times called Clerical and Professional Projects Association);

That also those of us who were recognized by the Communist Party as writers were requested to join the Western Writers Congress of which Harry Carlisle was the head in San Francisco, and which organization soon evolved into the League of American Writers;

That the League of American Writers sent out form letters sometime in 1937 requesting "members" (I had never joined the organization, but had filed an application with the Western Writers Congress) to give a summary of why they believed in the cause of Loyalist Spain; I failed to reply, in the press of my playwriting duties; later, I was presented with a booklet, "*Writers Take Sides*" through Unit 130 of the Communist Party, which met at the Twentieth Century Book Store (founded by Edna Silverton) on Melrose near Western Avenue, which booklet was included in unit literature;

That much to my surprise, I discovered my name listed among a hundred or more writers as having written a favorable letter to the League of American Writers on the matter of Loyalist Spain; I was informed by Jane Wallace (Wilson), then organizer of the Professional Section, that all Communist Party writers' names had been submitted to the League of American Writers by the Communist Party, and that my name would have been included as replying "favorably" even though I had written any other sort of letter; I noted that among the other names in that list were those of

Carey McWilliams; Harold J. Salemson; Samuel Ornitz; Paula Walling—all of whom I had met within the Communist Party as Communist Party members;

That, while on the subject of Loyalist Spain, I am reminded of an incident that took place sometime in December, 1937; I was browsing around in the Twentieth Century Book Store aforementioned, waiting for the meeting of Unit 130 to be called to order, when I encountered William Colfax ("Bill") Miller, whom I had known for several years and who had been connected with the Film and Photo League in Hollywood and who had revealed his membership in the Communist Party to me; said Miller and I discussed Communist Party affairs a few moments, then he told me he was leaving soon for Spain, but cautioned me not to repeat that information even to other Communist Party comrades, saying he was going on a very "special" mission for the Communist Party; I later heard through Hank Bazazowsky, who returned from Spain disillusioned, that this same W. Colfax Miller

was attached to the G. P. U., or Communist International special police, in Spain; in 1940 I read in the New York *New Leader* that W. Colfax Miller was sought by Mexican authorities for complicity in machine-gunning the home of Leon Trotsky, prior to Trotsky's murder;

That here I might add that within the outer realms of the Communist Party such as I belonged to, there was no discussion on the use of assassination as a Communist Party tactic, but I noted that persons assassinated by what appeared to be the G. P. U., such as Sedov Bronsten, son of Leon Trotsky, who met his death mysteriously in a Paris hospital, were piteously excoriated by the Communist Party press, and thus their death made to appear a "blessing"; likewise, such convicted killers as Earl King, Ernest G. Ramsay and Frank Conner, who had been convicted of complicity in the murder of George Alberts, were referred to, both in the Communist Party press and in meetings, as "labor martyrs";

#### DISILLUSIONMENT

That by around March 1, 1938, I was so disillusioned, disgusted and weary of Communist Party bickering, especially over the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*," that I was near physical collapse; that I arranged with the Buro of Unit 130, namely Leona McGenty, Howland Chamberlain, Theodore Pezman and Donald A. Murray that I would continue my work as a Communist Party duty on the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*," but that I must be relieved of full time work on said play;

That I arranged, through Communist Party contacts, to transfer from the Federal Theatre Project to the Federal Writers Project, which was at that time headed by Leon Dorais, who had replaced Hugh Harlan; Robert Brownell, a Communist Party fellow traveler whom I had known since 1935 and who had formerly contributed to the publication "*Pacific Weekly*" published in Carmel by Ella Winter and W. K. Bassett, was Dorais' assistant; said Brownell informed me that he would be glad to have a Communist Party member to assist him in getting out the History Essay for the Los Angeles "Guide," which was the purpose of the Los Angeles Federal Writers' Project; I transferred to the Federal Writers' Project and took up my duties as editorial assistant to said Robert Brownell, and devoted my after-work time to the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*";

That this transfer involved me in a new line of Communist Party work; at a meeting held at the home of Mary Virginia Farmer, 1350 Montana Street, and attended by Leona McGenty, Jacobina Caro, Howland Chamberlain and myself, plans were laid to form another Cultural Commission to better coordinate the work of the aforementioned Hollywood Cultural Commission and other Communist Party cultural work in Los Angeles County; at this meeting Leona McGenty requested me, in the name of the Professional Section Executive Committee to which she belonged, to prepare a full report of personnel on the Federal Writers' Project, that is, those who were friendly to the Communist Party, those who might be won over and any who were outspokingly unfriendly; also she requested me to make a report of union activities on that project, since there were no members there who belonged to either the Workers' Alliance or the Clerical (or Cultural) and Professional Projects Association, and to make a recom-

mendation as to what course the Communist Party should follow to unionize the Federal Writers' Project—of course said union to be controlled by the Communist Party;

That by that time the "defection" virus had taken hold of me and I was looking forward to the day when I could escape from the Communist Party toils, and in that state of mind, which might be termed "semi-Communist," I made a very un-Communist type of report and recommendation; I reported that the Workers' Alliance was in complete disfavor with workers on the Federal Writers Project because of its Communist taint, and that no one on that project was in the least interested in the Cultural and Professional Projects Association, which was indeed the truth; that the majority of workers on that project because of their writing backgrounds wanted to consider themselves a part of the writing world and that they favored the American Newspaper Guild (Los Angeles Newspaper Guild), but that the unit of that organization was small on the project because members were restricted to professional newspaper workers; I recommended that the Communist Party control over the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, which I knew to be a fact, permit the workers on the Federal Writers Project to join that organization, despite constitutional restrictions, and in that way the Communist Party could control the workers on the Federal Writers Project;

That much to my surprise, my recommendation was accepted by the Professional Section Committee; Charles H. Garrigues, known as "Brick" Garrigues, whom I had known for a number of years, and who was at that time executive secretary of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, arranged to meet me; he informed me that he was a member of the Communist Party Professional Section Committee, and that he had persuaded the said section committee executive board to accept my recommendation; that I was authorized by said section committee to inform the Chairman of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild Unit on the Federal Writers Project, a fellow traveler, Hubert Kotterman, that constitutional restrictions were to be waived and that all project workers were to be accepted into the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild;

That I duly informed said Kotterman of this decision by the Communist Party with respect to the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, and informed him whence it came, and he agreed to take all comers into the project unit of the Guild;

That Guild organization boomed for a time on the Federal Writers Project, and the unit grew from about six members to over 30 within two or three weeks;

That the only other Communist Party member on the Federal Writers Project at that time beside myself was Velda Johnston, aforementioned; that soon Dolph Winebrenner joined the project for a short time before he became the editor of "*Light*," Young Democrat publication financed by J. Frank Burke; that Philander Street requested to join the Communist Party and I signed him up; thus we had a Communist Party fraction on the Federal Writers Project (the requirement is that three Communist Party members must be present on a job or in an organization to form a "fraction"); that because of Velda Johnston's indolent nature and Philander Street's lack of development within the Communist Party, I was in charge of said

fraction, and I was rapidly growing anti-Communist; therefore, our fraction decisions emerged as strange hybrids;

That likewise my advice to Robert Brownell, who had stated to me he wished to follow Communist Party suggestions and who relied on me to make those suggestions, was of a nature not in keeping with Communist Party program; I advised him to hire persons whom I knew to be enemies of the Communist Party, namely one Theodor Robinson, who had been excluded from the Federal Theatre Project by the Communist fraction thereof because of so-called "Trotskyist" leanings; (I later learned this was merely a Communist Party slander on him; he was not a Trotskyist); nevertheless, Kenneth Patchen and Harvey Breit were members of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and I assisted them not only to get onto the project but also into the Newspaper Guild Unit on the project (which act, if discovered, would have been grounds for expulsion from the Communist Party);

That my "sins" of sabotaging the Communist Party from within soon caught up with me (but my expulsion did not follow until some time later); I assisted Ward Moore and Joseph Rabinowitch to obtain employment on the Federal Writers Project; Ward Moore was an outspoken Trotskyist, sold pamphlets and books by Leon Trotsky on the project and sneered partisanship criticism at the "Stalinists," as he called those of us who were members of the Stalinist faction of the Communist Party; said Joseph Rabinowitch was the son-in-law of Rabbi Mayer Winkler who had consistently fought the Communist Party in Hollywood, and who had been assisted frequently by said Joseph Rabinowitch; it happened that Harold J. Salemson, member of the Communist Party fraction of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild (with whom I later met in fraction meetings), discovered that said Joseph Rabinowitch was not only on the Federal Writers Project but was making application to join the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; he sounded the warning within the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild fraction, and the resultant Communist Party decisions in relation to the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild can best be described as a "free-for-all";

#### LOS ANGELES NEWSPAPER GUILD

That applications of 26 Federal Writers Project workers for membership in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, two of which turned out to be those of Communist Party members, namely, John Sherman and Allan Woodward, were summarily turned down by the Los Angeles Executive Board without so much as an excuse; that these applicants were even more eligible under the Guild Constitution than the 25 or 30 project workers who were previously accepted under my recommendation; this threw the Federal Writers Project into an uproar;

That two Communist Party "faithfuls" were assigned to work on the Federal Writers Project, namely Rose Boyd (Busch) (Visschner), former secretary to Earl Browder and one of the charter members of the Communist Party of United States, who had been business manager for the C. I. O. *Industrial Unionist*, publication of the Los Angeles C. I. O. Council, and Hyman Elliot Wax, member of the C. I. O. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Los Angeles (1942, he is now a paid organizer in that union); these two aforesaid

members of the Communist Party began a strict supervision of my activities and gave me orders from higher Communist Party bodies; I was whipped back into line, temporarily;

That also aforementioned John Sherman, who I discovered was a Communist Party member when Donald A. Murray of the Federal Theatre Project communicated with me and asked me to assist him in facilitating Sherman's transfer to the Los Angeles Communist Party from the New York branch of the party; Allan Woodward, Negro, and Jay Moss, Negro, who had been employed on the Federal Writers Project, as well as said Velda Johnston and Dolph Winebrenner all assisted in keeping me from committing further un-Communist acts; later, John Henry Reese joined the project and became friendly with the Communist fraction thereon, but did not reveal himself to be a Communist Party member until several months later when he identified himself to me as a member of the disciplinary group of the Communist Party associated with Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian; thus I was surrounded and spied upon;

That after my transfer to the Federal Writers Project from the Federal Theatre Project, I was also transferred from Unit 130 to Unit 140 of the Professional Section; said Unit 140 being made up of Communist Party members of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, as follows:

Herbert Klein, Organizer, (he called himself a screen writer, claimed to have worked at Paramount Studios, and in 1941 was listed as Los Angeles correspondent for PM of New York);

Morrie Smolan, Membership Director; (he was, the last I knew of him, 1941, Circulation Manager for the *People's Daily World* in San Francisco);

Charles Judson, Assistant Membership Director; he was then and still is (1942) an editor on the *Los Angeles Daily News*; he lived at 717 Maltman Avenue, Los Angeles, and several unit meetings were held in his home while I was in the unit;

Marvin Carter, Dues Secretary; he was then on the *Los Angeles Daily News*, then went to the "Ham and Eggs" publication in Hollywood, then back to the *Daily News*;

George Shaeffer, Press Director; he is now, as then, with the *People's Daily World* in Los Angeles;

Tom Cullen, Literature Agent; at that time he was working on the C. I. O. *Industrial Unionist*; later he became Secretary of the American Peace Mobilization in Los Angeles, and is now (1942) employed on the *People's Daily World*;

Charles H. ("Brick") Garrigues, Political Campaign Director; this is the same Charles H. Garrigues who was at that time Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; he was formerly in charge of publicity in San Francisco for the King-Ramsay-Conner Defense Committee;

Urcel Daniel, Fraction Secretary, for the fraction of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, which was composed of the membership of Unit 140 with a few exceptions;

The foregoing comprised the Buro of Unit 140, and the following, besides myself, were members:

Marion Shire, former employee of the *Los Angeles Examiner*;

Rose Boyd (Busch-Visschner), aforementioned;

Lou Seligson, *People's Daily World* employee;

Ed Robbin, Los Angeles Editor of the *People's Daily World*;

Lou Amster, member of the so-called "Free-Lance Unit" of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild;

Sid Burke, former editorial staff member of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League publication, *N. O. W.*;

Minna Klein, wife of Herb Klein who was Professional Section Membership Director;

Dolph Winebrenner, aforementioned editor of "*Light*," Young Democratic Club publication which followed the Communist Party line as religiously as does the *People's World*; he was, for a time, editor of *The Voice of the Federation*, publication of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, which publication merged with the *Pilot*, of the National Maritime Union (C. I. O.);

Shugi Fujii, Japanese, Editor of *Doho*, Japanese language so-called "labor" publication; last heard of at Santa Anita Japanese internment center;

Two other Japanese whose names I do not know;

Karl Schlichter, former employee on the *Hollywood Citizen-News*;

William E. Oliver, Dramatic Editor of the *Los Angeles Herald-Express*;

And belonging to the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild Communist Party fraction, but not to said Unit 140, were:

Harold J. Salemson, correspondent in Hollywood for *Paris-Soir*, in Paris;

Elliot Wax, aforementioned;

Jay Moss, aforementioned; Moss was said to be on leave of absence from the unit at that time;

Lillian Jones, Negro, worker on the Federal Writers' Project;

That during the time I was attached to Unit 140 the principal business of that unit and of the Communist Party fraction of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild was to conduct the strike of said Guild against the *Hollywood Citizen-News* along Communist Party lines; to elect Communist Party delegates to the International Convention of the American Newspaper Guild in Toronto, Canada, and to establish proper Communist Party connections for them with Communist National leaders of said Guild;

That during the aforementioned strike against the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, two new members were signed up for the Communist Party, their application cards presented by Morrie Smolan, membership director, to Unit 140, and they were voted into said unit as of the time their training in the Communist Party would be completed; they were:

Roger Johnson, formerly employed on the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, later on State Relief Administration, staff member, and at present an appointee on the Los Angeles City Housing Commission; and

Philip M. (Slim) Connelly, then President of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Newspaper Guild, now President of the California C. I. O.;

That members of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild who were referred to as Communist sympathizers and on whom the Communist Party fraction placed its confidence, were:

Tom O'Connor, now of *PM* in New York; Mel Scott, who also became a State Relief Administration staff member;

Andy Barrigan of the *Los Angeles Daily News*;

H. R. (Hubert) Kotterman, Chairman of the Guild Unit on the Los Angeles Federal Writers' Project; and

John Cohee of the *Los Angeles Daily News*;

James Francis Crow, Dramatic Editor of the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, and who later criticized the Communists severely; however, during his period of favor with the Communists he became President of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild;

That, in short, I discovered that the Communist Party exercised complete control over the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, and only those high in Communist Party favor or Communist Party members could hold office in it;

That Morgan Hull, International Representative of the American Newspaper Guild, who left Los Angeles to take that position in either 1935 or 1936, had informed me, when I was a fellow traveler, that he was a member of the Communist Party, and that after the Guild victory in the *Hollywood Citizen-News* strike, I again encountered Morgan Hull, and he congratulated me on joining the Communist Party and discussed Communist Party affairs with me;

That because the Communist Party had branded aforementioned Theodor Robinson as a "Trotskyite" that the Communist Party fraction of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild determined to oust him from Guild membership, no matter what the cost to the union; he had joined at a time when the Communist Party fraction was in the heat of the *Hollywood Citizen-News* strike; my comrade, Rose Boyd (Busch-Visschner) stated to me that said Robinson was not to be allowed to function in the union and said in anger, "Go and see Dr. Parker and ask him how far Robinson is to be allowed to go in the Guild!";

That this clearly revealed to me that the Communist Party was operating the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild instead of its membership;

That I did consult said Dr. Parker (Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian) on several occasions, but each time I was either sent or called into his office; he was then chairman of the Los Angeles County Control Commission of the Communist Party; that said Dr. Tashjian stated to me in reference to Robinson's membership in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, "It is better for 85 workers (the number then on the Los Angeles Federal Writers' Project) to be without union representation than to allow ONE Trotskyite to remain in the union.";

That I learned that this attitude toward the so-called "Trotskyites" —mostly a bugaboo term used by the Communists to designate those who intelligently oppose Communist Party domination of unions or mass organizations—was caused by the pervading sense of guilt from which all Communists individually and collectively suffer; they are constantly in fear of being exposed for what they are, and anyone who calls them by their right names is designated a "Trotskyite" and fought with blind, fanatical fury;

That as a result of this domination by the Communist Party of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, and because of my rift with the Communist Party, 11 members of the Guild Unit on the Federal Writers

Project, including myself, were expelled from the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, and our expulsion was upheld by each successively higher body of the American Newspaper Guild, including the last court of appeal, the International Convention; and that all along the line, during our trial in Los Angeles, during our appeals, and throughout the entire affair, the dominance of the Communist Party of that organization became more and more evident; that the attitude of the members of the American Newspaper Guild who were likewise Communist Party members was well expressed by Charles H. ("Brick") Garrigues when he was discussing with me my differences of opinion with the Communist leadership of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; he stated, "It is not the Guild that's important; it's the Communist Party.";

That long before my rift with the Communist Party widened into an open break, Communist Party members around me, as I have stated before, sought to counsel me, intimidate me, wheedle me, bribe me and lure me back into the fold; when one method failed, they would try another; that during the early Summer of 1938, a Communist Party member sought and obtained employment on the Federal Writers' Project, whose presence there I have never been able to satisfactorily explain; he was Eugene Schachner, former *Daily Worker* correspondent in Spain, who, according to his accounts, shuttled around over the world on Communist Party orders; he was a repulsive, over-bearing, prize-fighter type, and immediately started to become friendly with me; he invited me to go out with him socially, and I accepted once, then in the company of Velda Johnston and Dolph Winebrenner; as soon as the opportunity arose, he began to bully me about my association with aforementioned Theodor Robinson, the so-called "Trotskyite"; he implied darkly that I would be in for a terrible time, friendless, jobless, hounded from place to place, ridiculed and persecuted, if I persisted in my opposition to the wishes of the Communist Party; my answer was to throw a glass of water in his face and tell him to "do his damnedest"; shortly thereafter, he departed from the Federal Writers' Project, saying he was returning to Spain; I next heard of him in Mexico City early in 1942;

That among the Communist Party fraction decisions made in meetings I attended which I recall at this time was one to "skip" a payment of \$100 to "Comrade Carey McWilliams" for legal services, because, as a Communist Party member, McWilliams would be willing to let the fraction use this money to send delegates to the Toronto convention of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; another was a decision to bring the aforementioned Communist Party member, Sam Kalish, into the Guild to teach non-Communist Guildsmen parliamentary law; this was done, and I attended some of the Guild meetings at which Kalish held forth;

That I attended a meeting of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild held at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel in September, 1938, and had an opportunity to observe the manner in which the Communist Party fraction of that organization ruled it completely; the matter of an appeal to the Executive Board on the acceptance of the aforementioned 26 project workers into the Guild was one order of business, and in accordance with the Communist Party fraction decision, of which I

had been officially apprised, the Executive Board ruling, which ruling was presented by the Chairman, James Francis Crow, was to the effect that the project workers were not eligible for Guild membership in accordance with the Constitution; at that same meeting the matter of acceptance of the managing editor of the Hollywood Reporter came before the meeting; according to the Constitution of the American Newspaper Guild, of which I possessed a copy, a clause specifically stated that no person in position to hire and fire workers would be eligible for membership; however, the Communist Party fraction has discussed the usefulness of this particular person, Jack Cartwright, to the Communist Party at meetings I had attended, in view of the fact he was either a fellow traveler or Communist Party member and in view of the fact that he was to be used by the Communist Party to organize the Screen Publicists Guild in Hollywood, which organization was planned to be launched as an offshoot of the American Newspaper Guild; at the aforementioned meeting, the Executive Board ruling in relation to Jack Cartwright's membership was that he was eligible in spite of the Constitution "because he was sympathetic to labor"; and the membership, apathetic and dazed by the tactics of the Communist Party fraction, duly voted to reject 26 workers on the grounds of ineligibility and to accept one man who hired and fired workers "because he was sympathetic to labor"; in exactly that manner the Communist Party mocks the basic principles of labor unionism;

#### COMMUNIST PARTY POLITICAL COMMISSION

That during the Spring of 1938 while I was in the throes of severing my connections with the Communist Party, all manner of inducements were held out to me in order to entice me to remain within it; Charles H. ("Brick") Garrigues, whom I had known for a number of years, took special interest in my case and sought to iron out my grievances and to keep me in the Communist Party; he knew of my interest in local politics, and, as a member of the Professional Section Committee, "co-opted" me for work on the Professional Section Political Commission of which he was chairman; it might be explained here that the word "co-opted" is derived from a Russian word meaning to draft, or to command, and has become accepted in the Communist Party of United States; I discovered that all important positions are filled in the Communist Party by "co-option" rather than by election;

That membership in said Professional Section Political Commission was (beside myself) :

Charles H. ("Brick") Garrigues, Chairman;

Miriam Holtz, Secretary (she later became one of the correspondence secretaries for Governor Culbert L. Olson in Sacramento, and I have seen her signature on letters for the Governor);

Norman Byrne, aforementioned professor of anthropology at Los Angeles City College and American Peace Mobilization leader in 1940 and 1941;

Naomi Childress, common-law wife of said C. H. Garrigues;

Dr. Simson Marcus, brother of aforementioned Dr. Samuel Marcus; his present business address is 314 North Fairfax, Los Angeles;

Dolph Winebrenner, aforementioned editor of "*Light*," Young Democrat publication;

Jane Wallace (Wilson), then organizer of the Professional Section; That the purpose of said commission was to educate the membership of the Professional Section to carry on work in the various "bourgeois" political institutions of California without being detected as Communists; for instance, those Communists sent into the Young Democrats and into the Democratic Party proper, could not afford to risk detection by using Communist vocabulary in speech, the use of such a term as "functionary" for "official," for instance, might expose them; therefore this Commission prepared educational papers to be used as a manual within the Professional Section; also Garrigues, Byrne and myself arranged to appear before each unit of the Professional Section, each one taking several units, and to conduct this "educational" on methods of camouflage, as it were;

That, for instance, I recall that Garrigues conducted the sample educational first for said Professional Section Political Commission, then again in Unit 140; I obtained a list of names of Unit organizers from Jane Wallace (Wilson) and from Jane Howe, then understudy organizer of the Professional Section, and made arrangements to attend the unit meeting to give the educational; the units I attended were the "Hash" Unit, of which Grace Brown was organizer (she was at that time the common-law wife of Sven Skaar, who had left the Historical Records Survey); the Architects and Engineers Unit, of which members of the CIO Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians, who were Communist Party members, belonged; besides several whose names I do not recall, I remember the following persons as members of that Unit:

Jules Kievits, later a Regional Director for the State Relief Administration;

Paul Williams, Negro architect;

Dr. Lao Selfrid, then an instructor in chemistry on WPA said to have gone to Mexico; Dr. Selfrid informed me that he was from Austria originally and that he had spent much time in Mexico working in oil refineries;

Paul Pinsky, now CIO State Research Director;

That I also attended the meetings of the two social workers' units, but in view of the fact the Communist Party policy is to conceal, rather than to reveal names, I did not learn the names of those persons; NEVER are comrades within the Communist Party introduced to each other with last names; occasionally party names are used even for first names; only when the comrades are apt to meet in the non-Communist world, which was the case with those mentioned above, are true names used; I might interject that this air of stifling secrecy lends to the Communist Party the atmosphere of dark, devious, underground illegality; it appeals to the infantile romantics whose egos are bolstered by lawbreaking, but I found that most persons of American background and training were disgusted with it;

That in addition, I contacted Carey McWilliams, whose name was given me by Jane Howe as organizer of the Lawyers' Unit (and to which, I was told, Communist Party members of the National Lawyers' Guild belonged); and, after I explained the nature of my business, he informed me that their unit meeting would be held on a certain night in the home of J. Allen Frankel on South Orange Drive, Los

Angeles; however, I was unable to attend, and called Leo Gallagher asking him to give the "political educational," which he agreed to do; it is almost needless to say that this is the same Carey McWilliams who is now California Immigration and Housing Director and a leader in the National Lawyers' Guild;

That another order of business before said Professional Section Political Commission was to endeavor to correct the organization status of Oliver Thornton and his common-law wife, Elenore Bogigian within the Communist Party; it appeared that Paul Cline, Los Angeles County Organizer of the Communist Party at that time, was consulting Oliver Thornton on political matters, and that other functionaries of the party did not feel Thornton was sufficiently disciplined as a Communist to merit such trust; our commission therefore obtained his Communist Party Book (in what manner I do not know, as it was brought to the meeting by Garrigues) and, upon inspecting it, noted he was behind in dues; the Commission therefore decided I was to present this book to Paul Cline and urge Cline to speak to Thornton about getting his dues paid up, and other technical organizational matters; that this would serve as a double rebuke, impressing upon Cline the matter of his own laxness as a Communist, and of getting Thornton back into the Communist Party disciplinary range; it is my recollection that I sidestepped this assignment, however; I do not recall discussing the matter with Cline;

That at a period a few weeks later than the organization of aforesaid Professional Section Political Commission, the Los Angeles County Political Commission was set up by the Communist Party; Emma Cutler was the first chairman of this commission, but she soon left Los Angeles for the San Joaquin Valley, and this chairmanship was turned over to Al Lane (Lewis); both the foregoing were "co-opted" by the Los Angeles County Executive Board of the Communist Party; I was designated as the representative of said County Commission for the Professional Section Political Commission;

That other members of said Los Angeles County Political Commission, which met in the home of Al Lane (Lewis) at 3989 Denker Avenue, Los Angeles, were (beside Lane and myself):

Jane Wallace (Wilson), Professional Section Organizer (here I might say that she admitted to me she was the sister of John Bromann (Wilson), columnist on the *People's Daily World*);

James Burford, then employed by the Los Angeles Community Chest and active in the Young Democrats, Inc.;

Joseph Ayeroff, likewise active in the Young Democrats, Inc.;

Dr. Lao Selfrid, aforementioned;

Lou Baron, representative of the Trade Union Commission;

Al Bryan (Ryan), County Educational Director for the Communist Party;

Barney Brown, representative of the County Cultural Commission of the Communist Party;

Allan Mathews, active in the Democratic Party;

Jules Kievits, aforementioned, also active in the Democratic Party;

Emil Freed, organizer of the Hollywood Section of the Communist Party;

Philip Dunne, screen writer and representative of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee, sat in one meeting, and

Robert Tasker, screen writer, partner and brother-in-law of John Bright, attended another meeting as the representative of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee;

That this aforesaid commission assumed responsibility for the Communist Party participation in the recall of Mayor Frank L. Shaw and the election of a "Popular Front" candidate to replace him;

That this commission also assumed the responsibility for the much greater task of electing a "Popular Front" slate to State offices, and indorsed Culbert L. Olson for Governor, Ellis E. Patterson for Lieutenant Governor and various other candidates for lesser offices;

That said commission assumed responsibility for the conduct of the campaigns of such persons, designated as Communist Party members, as: LaRue McCormick, then Secretary of the International Labor Defense in Los Angeles, which office she still holds;

Rose Segure, who was running for an Assembly seat; later she became a high official in the State Relief Administration;

Ellis E. Patterson, designated as a "comrade," but whose campaign this commission endeavored to make appear as non-Communist (in fact, one order was transmitted from this commission through Communist Party channels as follows: "Tell the comrades to stay out of Comrade Patterson's campaign headquarters, as it may expose him if we congregate there."—);

Emil Freed, member of the commission who was running for office on the Communist Party ticket;

That said commission decided on Communist Party "plants" to be installed in the campaign headquarters of various Democrats; I recall in particular the decision to send Larry Buchanan, whom I had met as a Communist Party member on several occasions, into the office of Frank Scully in order to insure Communist Party domination of that campaign;

That one of the main orders of business of said commission was to manipulate the Young Democrats, Inc., throughout California by giving directives on strategy to James Burford and Joseph Ayeroff, fractional leaders of the Young Democrats, Inc. This organization and its publication, "*Light*," which was in Communist Party hands through the editorship of Dolph Winebrenner, were used by the Communist Party to "carry the load," as it were, of Communist Party program in the 1938 elections in California;

That along that line, said commission transmitted through Communist Party channels various decisions in regard to the Young Democrats, Inc., to Claudia Williams, said to be the Communist Party fraction secretary of that organization in San Francisco;

That also similar directives were directed to Charles Saphirstein (whom I had also met through James Burford as a Communist Party comrade), and who at that time was active in the Young Democrats, Inc., somewhere in the San Joaquin Valley area; likewise, directive was sent to Al Shanks, also in the Young Democrats, Inc.;

That along that line it was interesting to me to note that after the pact between Russia and Germany and hence the Communist Party line changed, persons with whom I had had contact in the Communist

Party and who belonged to the Young Democrats, Inc., withdrew from that organization and formed the Democratic Youth Federation in California, which organization turned back to the Young Democrats after Germany attacked Russia, thus changing the Communist Party line back to collaboration with democratic forces; in that manner, the direction of all organizations under the domination of the Communist Party indicates that they serve as foreign agencies for the Soviet Union;

That the aforesaid Los Angeles County Political Commission had full control of the policies of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee of which aforementioned Philip Dunne was Chairman, and Melvyn Douglas another prominent official; our commission made all decisions on policy and direction of this organization, planned resolutions for it and transmitted same to that organization through either the representative present or through Communist Party channels, directed, it was announced in meeting, to Maurice Murphy, a "comrade," who was Executive Secretary of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee; it is worthy of note that said Maurice Murphy later became the Executive Secretary of the aforementioned League of American Writers, Hollywood Chapter, which I know of my own knowledge to be a Communist Party-controlled organization;

That our said commission discussed ways and means of influencing various prominent persons in the Democratic Party—I recall in particular Walter Ballou—and frankly discussed the past record, weaknesses and stupidities of such persons with a view toward controlling them; one of the tactics most frequently planned as a method of controlling a political figure was to invite him to a Communist Party fraction meeting, planning on revealing to him after he had been lured into the meeting, that he was sitting in an "open" fraction meeting, and giving him to understand that this fact would be used against him unless he did the bidding of the Communist Party;

That at that time I realized that few Americans who had been reared to believe the best in their fellowman could withstand such Machiavellian cynicism in politics, and realized full well that such scheming, unprincipled political manipulators would be very successful in politics; at that moment I realized the true meaning of Georgi Dimitroff's "Popular Front" speech; he MEANT that the Communists could accomplish more by devious indirection than they could by standing on a soap box and shouting for revolution, as they had in the past; but by that time I also realized that there was no hope of finding honesty or frankness within the Communist Party; heretofore I had put down much of the things with which I was dissatisfied to "lack of development" and to the "wrong interpretation of the Communist Party line"; now I knew that the higher one went, the worse the corruption;

That the fates of many political figures were decided at meetings of aforesaid commission, in view of the fact the Young Democrats, the C. I. O., a large bloc of the motion picture colony as well as of the Democratic Party itself could be manipulated by these Communist schemers; our commission had the facilities to reach every one of the supposed 3,000 Communist Party members in Los Angeles County with directives—"musts"—and these individuals, in turn, because each

one of them was as active or more so than myself, influential in several organizations, could multiply his influence by several hundred; thus our Los Angeles County Political Commission of the Communist Party was determining a large part of the policies of Los Angeles City and County and the State of California;

That we sent suggestions and directives to Robert W. Kenny who was running for State Senator and he was regarded as one amenable to suggestions, that is, either a Communist Party member or a close fellow traveler;

That we sent directives to William ("Bill") Mason, chairman of a large Democratic Club in Santa Monica, who was referred to as a Communist Party comrade;

That we sent directives to Don R. Healy, Secretary of Labor's Non-Partisan League of Los Angeles County, which, in turn, influenced a large bloc of votes in the C. I. O.; and through Lou Baron and the facilities of the Los Angeles County Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party, we designated the best possible means for Communist Party members within the A. F. of L. to present Communist Party program within their unions; Herb Sorrell, Business Agent for the Studio Painters' Union, was regarded as the only Communist Party comrade in an A. F. of L. Union in Los Angeles who could put over the entire "Party line" in his union;

That the Unemployed Conference of Studio Unions which later became known as the "COMPAC" was referred to by our said Commission as an organization which could be "counted on" to put over Communist Party program; said Herb Sorrell, as well as the aforementioned Frank Tuttle were active in that organization;

That individuals who were "liberal" merely because of their humanitarian impulses could be brought under the Communist Party political influence through such organizations as the United China Relief and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; that Jewish people could be influenced through their hatred of Nazis through the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League; that Mexicans could be influenced through the Spanish Speaking People's Congress; that Negroes could be influenced through the National Negro Congress and the Japanese-American voters through the publication, DOHO; women, especially housewives, could be reached through the League of Women Shoppers; and so on, to say nothing of the 21-year-old youth which the Communist Party tried to reach through the youth assemblies, which later became the California Youth Legislature, member of the National Communist controlled American Youth Congress; that I know from Communist literature and from official Communist statements that all the foregoing organizations were at that time controlled by the Communist Party;

That we discussed some briefly, some at length, the role, in relation to Communist Party program, the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, the National Lawyers Guild, the Screen Writers Guild, the Screen Actors Guild, the Screen Directors Guild, the Teachers Union, the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees Progressive Caucus headed by Jeff Kibre; the C. I. O. Council, the Musicians Union, the Culinary Workers Union, as well as the Workers Alliance and the new-born Communist coordinating body for WPA, the Arts Unions Council;

That those were our implements; our methods were described previously as basely cynical; the coating of idealism which was wrapped around Communist Party plans when they were handed down to the more tender comrades with whom I had previously associated was now left off; without so much as a reference to the Communist Party "enabling act," that is, Lenin's statement that "the end justifies the means," this commission plunged into the California political field to build a secret, camouflaged, efficient political machine;

That we probably had less than a thousand active Communist *cadres* (a Communist Party term to indicate a human unit, which is a "thing," not a being, in Communist thought) in the entire southern California area who were adept enough in parliamentary tricks, smooth enough to camouflage the Communist Party line, daring enough to face and bluff out attacks, cynical enough to proceed on orders without idealistic justification, and who were tied, hand, brain and hide, to the Communist Party. We had to juggle them around, give each many roles to play, coordinate all work in order to make the Communist Party camouflaged machine sound like a million votes. It required more than training or even long experience in even the cleverest and slipperiest of American type political maneuvering. We had access to, and drew from, the Communist Party's Asiatic form of intrigue; the use of teamwork in a combination of brazen effrontery and sly, psychological tricks. Al Lane (Lewis) claimed he spent a number of years in Moscow, and he laid claim to knowing how to maneuver "scientifically"; I believe he does, and the history of California during the Olson regime has proven that Al Lane and others of his kind were successful;

That beside those persons previously mentioned as having obtained State appointments, others whom I knew to be Communists or fellow travelers who received appointments from Olson were:

William J. Plunkert, in the State Relief Administration;

Alice Orans, of whom I heard in the Social Service Units of the Communist Party;

Allen Metcalfe, "Young Democrat" to whom the Communist Party members referred as "comrade";

Esther Sapiro, whom I met on one occasion within the Communist Party;

Frank Taylor, who identified himself to me as a Communist Party member;

Al Shanks, aforementioned;

Sam Kalish, aforementioned;

James Burford, aforementioned;

Jules Kievit, aforementioned;

Miriam Holtz, aforementioned;

Katherine Kilbourne, aforementioned;

Rose Segure, aforementioned;

Carey McWilliams, aforementioned;

Martin Irons, aforementioned;

Marguerite Clark, aforementioned;

Elenore Bogolian, who received an appointment to an administrative position on WPA as Herbert Legg's secretary;

Claudia Williams, aforementioned;

That undoubtedly there were many other Communist Party members who received important California State positions with whom I had contact, but whose real names I did not learn;

That it should be mentioned here that spreading over all like a protective canopy was the Communist Party press, the *People's Daily World*, in California; all Communist Party members must subscribe to it; all must donate a day's pay to it; all must read it and believe it; and all must take part in compiling information for its "news" columns; it was looked upon as the "voice" of the camouflaged Communists in California, and like the Communists, it denied its Communism;

#### COMMUNIST PARTY CULTURAL COMMISSION

That simultaneous with my membership in the aforementioned said political commission, I was drawn into the Los Angeles County Cultural Commission as a representative from the political commission; that this commission was organized to fill the need expressed by Mary Virginia Farmer, mentioned previously: To coordinate the work of the Los Angeles County apparatus of the Communist Party with that of the underground, darkly secret Hollywood Cultural Commission, which in turn was part of the Communist Party apparatus in Hollywood, which, according to Communist knowledge generally, dealt directly with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States rather than with the local apparatus; therefore, this form of coordination was highly necessary from an organizational point of view;

That members of said Los Angeles County Cultural Commission, beside myself, were:

Miriam Brooks, now wife of Jack Moore, 1941 Los Angeles county secretary of the Communist Party; she was then a member of the Musicians Union, A. F. of L., and worked on the WPA Music Project in Los Angeles; meetings were held in her home on North Coronado;

Leona McGenty, aforementioned, who represented the Communist Party fraction on the Federal Theatre Project;

Howland Chamberlain, member of Actors Equity;

Darby Jones, member of Screen Actors Guild:

Barney Brown, in charge of Communist Party theatrical work; also co-representative with me from the political commission;

Charles Maddox, member of the Artists Congress and a worker on the WPA Federal Art Project;

Roth Reynolds, Artists Congress, unemployed, who has since become chairman of a downtown "Forum" in Los Angeles;

Kenneth Patterson, actor;

Dr. Lao Selfrid, aforementioned;

Sid Davidson (Martin), member of the Los Angeles County Educational Commission;

Marvin Carter, member of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild;

Sonora Babb (who also used another name), member of the League of American Writers;

Several others whose names I do not know;

That the tasks of this commission were to devise means of coordinating Communist Party work in the "arts"; to assist with theatrical entertainment containing Communist Party propaganda for labor

unions, for meetings of various mass organizations and for political rallies;

That this commission organized the Arts Unions Council, supposed to act as a coordinating body for various WPA unions; in other words, it was a Communist prop to bolster the failing Cultural and Professional Projects Association which had now reached its goal and was part of the Workers Alliance; since project workers on the cultural projects rejected this union, the Communist Party devised the Arts Unions Council, supposedly a delegated body, and took in delegates, which in most cases were the Communist Party fraction members from the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, Federal Writers Project unit; the A. F. of L. Musicians Union of which a number of members were on the music project; Actors Equity, of which a number of members were on the Federal Theatre Project; the Artists Congress of which members were on the Federal Art Project, and of course, the Workers Alliance; said Arts Unions Council later became the nucleus of a Nation-wide organization to "Save the Federal Theatre Project" after exposures of Communist Party manipulation of said project made it necessary for Congress to abolish it;

That this said cultural commission also coordinated work of the League of American Writers, both in Hollywood and among free-lance writers throughout Los Angeles; I do not know if any non-Communists belonged to this organization, I never knew a member of it who was not active in Communist Party work;

That there was considerable time spent in said cultural commission plotting a method whereby the Communist Party fraction within the Musicians Union in Los Angeles, of which said Miriam Brooks was a member, could gain control of that organization;

That also considerable discussion dealt with setting up a Communist-controlled art center in Los Angeles to offset the so-called "reactionary art" sponsored by the late General Otis and Harry Chandler;

That, inasmuch as this said commission was composed solely of Communist Party members, a great deal of time was spent speculating on the bugaboo, Trotskyism; I gathered from the childish, frightened statements of my comrades that they feared the influence of Leon Trotsky would envelop the field of art; and that a great part of said fear apparently was engendered by the fact that I was collaborating on a play with aforementioned Theodor Robinson, whom the Communist Party had branded a "Trotskyite";

That I recall in particular one two-hour lecture by Sid Davidson (Martin) which reminded me of the children's scare phrase, "The goblins will get you, if you don't watch out!"; this was all done to impress and frighten me and to cause me to cease work with Robinson, but it had the opposite effect; I laughed at my comrades, who were frightened white by the "scare tale" of what Trotskyists do to "art," and after that I was "too busy" to attend said Cultural Commission meetings;

That I was by that time violating Communist Party discipline without regard for consequences; in fact, I hoped I would be expelled;

that would be a way out; however, my comrades continued to pull me into other Communist Party work, evidently in the hope I would "see the light" and wax enthusiastic once more;

#### TROTSKYISM IN WRITING

That one such meeting which may or may not have been staged for my benefit, but which had for its main topic of discussion "Trotskyism in Writing" was called by the aforementioned Sonora Babb, though she was not present, and held in her home in Hollywood; the avowed purpose of that meeting was to stimulate interest in the League of American Writers in Los Angeles; those present beside myself were:

Theodore Pezman, aforementioned writer on the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*" and present employee in the United States Employment Service;

Harry Tarnoff, who called himself a writer, but who showed no ability at that meeting;

George Shaftel, who is well known in Los Angeles for his membership in writers' organizations, but whose writings are unknown;

Betty Rosenhouse, who laid no claim to writing ability but who frankly stated she intended to become an official in the League of American Writers;

Several women whose names I do not know;

That as stated previously, the entire topic of discussion was the cataclysm of "Trotskyism" in writing; I gathered that this meant exposure of the Communist Party in writing, and I believe it was on that occasion I decided to use what ability I had as a writer to do just that;

That the foregoing is an example of the Communist Party member's approach to art, writing and the theater; they are mediums through which to express Communist Party propaganda; they are fields to monopolize, nothing more;

That by this time, Summer of 1938, the matter of layoffs on WPA which always hit at the end of the fiscal year, June 30th, had the Federal Writers Project in a broil; due to the fact that so many project members had been rejected by the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild and because the Cultural and Professional Projects Association had no hold on the Federal Writers Project, workers turned to another form of union expression and eventually evolved an independent union, the Federal Writers Project Union, but in the throes of its organization the Communist Party fraction on said project created much to-do; for one thing aforementioned Elliot Wax and Lillian Jones attended the organizational meeting of the aforementioned Arts Unions Council as representatives of the Federal Writers Project (without the knowledge or consent of anyone on the Federal Writers Project except the Communist Party fraction thereof), then attempted to force upon the Federal Writers Project the commitments they had made in this organization; needless to say, there was much fuss over that point;

That about that time Rose Boyd (Busch-Visschner) who had set herself up as dictator of the Federal Writers Project, called meetings of said project into which outside Communists would be called; I recall Leona McGentry was called into one; another time Mrs. McGentry, then organizer for the Workers Alliance on the Federal Theatre

Project, sent Al Haieg, a new recruit into the Communist Party, as her representative; another time aforementioned Paul Pinsky was inveigled to take a bow; another time Lew Michener, who attended our Communist Party fraction meeting, and who was then C. I. O. Council Secretary in Los Angeles, participated; that all I recall this accomplished was to make non-Communist project workers very bitter against the Communist Party;

#### COMMUNIST PARTY COMMISSIONS

That before passing to a more personal phase of this account, I wish to make the point that the aforementioned COMMISSIONS, of which there were many, were used as a superstructure, coordinating apparatus to by-pass the more ponderous process of so-called "Democratic Centralism," which was nothing more than a process of dictatorship; by this process, orders from Moscow were supposed to come to the Communist Party National Central Committee in New York where they would be interpreted and policy for the Nation worked out in accordance; then they proceeded down the line to the unit, the basic structure of the Communist International, then the unit was supposed to evolve means of implementing the orders (never on whether or not it would accept the order), and pass this decision on to the fractions which this unit controlled, and then the fractions would take the decision into unions or other organizations as "individual" opinion; the aforesaid COMMISSION cut much of this red tape, enabled the Communist Party fractions to get orders from the Commission to which the secretaries thereof were attached without waiting for a unit meeting; there were many other ways the COMMISSIONS cut red tape of the old Peters Manual (a manual of organization of the Communist Party);

That I attended the Professional Section Convention and also the Los Angeles County Convention of the Communist Party, the latter being held around May 1, 1938, the other about two weeks earlier; that I recall at the Professional Section Convention it was brought out there were two hundred ten (210) members of that section; work of the section has been outlined previously and unions under its control indicated;

That at the Los Angeles County Convention of the Communist Party, held at 121 W. Eighteenth Street, Los Angeles, I encountered a number of comrades who have been mentioned previously; I recall that Herb Sorrell was doorman at the session I attended, and accepted my credentials; that the membership of the Communist Party was estimated at around 3,000 at that time; that plans were discussed for developing a more efficient political pressure machine, on which subject Paul Cline spoke;

That some time during the Summer of 1938 I met forementioned Hugh Mason at a Communist Party social gathering; he informed me that he was a member of the Communist Party fraction of the aforementioned Conference of Studio Unions which was at that time called "COMPAC," and that Charlotte Darling, a worker at Disney's Studio, was the secretary of said fraction; that he advised me to get in touch with said Charlotte Darling in order to establish a closer contact between aforementioned Los Angeles County Political Commission of the Communist Party and the Communist Party fraction of COMPAC;

I telephoned Miss Darling and on several occasions discussed Communist Party affairs with her, and noted that decisions from aforementioned Political Commission were very quickly transformed into action within COMPAC, according to news reports of same;

#### CONTROL COMMISSION

That during the time I was in disagreement with the Communist Party's line and tactics, that is, from the Spring of 1938 through the Summer, Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian telephoned me many times commanding my appearance at his office; the first time I went before Dr. Tashjian (Dr. Parker) in his official capacity as chairman of the Los Angeles County Control Commission of the Communist Party, was when Howland Chamberlain, then Membership Director of Unit 130, to which I was attached until about March, 1938, escorted me to Communist Party headquarters at 124 W. Sixth Street, Los Angeles, to interview "Dr. Parker" about the so-called "Trotskyite," Theodor Robinson; on that occasion Dr. Tashjian, whom I instinctively distrusted, informed me that Robinson had been branded officially by the Communist Party as a "Trotskyite" and that I was to break off all relations with him; that from that moment forward I had no respect whatsoever for the decisions or impassioned ravings of my comrades with respect to said Robinson; that I ascertained to my own satisfaction, after examining correspondence and documents, some of which were signed by said Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian, that said Robinson, who stated that he had been friendly to the Communist Party in 1933 when he was in college at Los Angeles, had loaned to said Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian the sum of \$500, for which said Dr. Tashjian had given his personal note, which note I saw; that said Robinson informed me that when he attempted to collect that sum of money, Dr. Tashjian had screamed that it was a donation; that Robinson had pressed the claim unsuccessfully, from Chicago, where he then lived, and that thereafter the members of the Communist Party to whom he had been friendly began to shun him; that I had in my possession at one time a letter on the stationery of the Communist Party of Illinois to Theodore Pezman, fractional secretary of the aforementioned Southwest Unit of the Federal Theatres, signed by the Illinois State Secretary of the Communist Party, saying that Theodor Robinson was to be prevented from obtaining employment in Los Angeles because he was a "Trotskyite"; Pezman presented me with that letter ordering me to show it to Robert Brownell, aforementioned supervisor on the Federal Writers Project, in an effort to dislodge said Robinson from his position on said project; this command I disobeyed; and the letter was finally turned over to Federal authorities; that then and there I learned how "Trotskyites" are manufactured by the Communist Party;

That in about July of 1938, by which time I had grown completely contemptuous of Communist Party commands, that a Mollie Prager, of whom I had heard much in the Communist Party, appeared at the Federal Writers and stated flatly that she was ready to move into my flat at 1323 W. Fourth Street and that she would live with me; my only response was, "Like hell you are, and if you want to run into a hornet's nest, just try it.";

That I had heard much discussion within the Communist Party of that method of whipping recalcitrant members back into line; that I had heard that not infrequently members of the opposite sex were ordered to make love to the backsiding member and to report intimate conversations to the Control Commission; that after I had resisted the advances of aforementioned Eugene Schachner, I came to the conclusion that the Control Commission had resorted to the next best thing by sending said Mollie Prager to me;

That the last I heard of said Mollie Prager was in 1939 when she was a stenographer in the office of the Los Angeles Board of Education;

That the aforementioned John Henry Reese, who had appeared at the Federal Writers Project under peculiar circumstances, in that he had not gone through regular WPA channels to obtain his employment, pretended to be a Communist Party fellow traveler, and constantly flitted around the vicinity in which I was working on the project; he became very friendly with Velda Johnston, who, in turn, remained an associate of mine, and frequently said Reese invited me to go out socially with Velda Johnston and himself, which I did;

That on the morning of August 4, 1938, said John Henry Reese entered the office I shared with Robert Brownell, and with an apologetic laugh, stated: "The time has come when you must choose between your comrades and that Trotskyite, Ted Robinson."

That I asked, "What do you mean?" and he began, "Dr. Parker says—"

That he got no further. I interrupted, saying, "Go back and tell Dr. Tashjian that my Communist Party book will be in the mail tonight." That in accordance with that threat, I mailed my Communist Party book, which was in the name of Irene Wood, and which dues were paid up through June, 1938, to the Professional Section Membership Director, the aforementioned Minna Klein, at the Professional Section post-office box in the Hollywood Substation Post Office;

That said John Henry Reese departed from said Federal Writers Project very soon thereafter, and I heard he was working in the office of Ellis E. Patterson; that I encountered him some time in the fall of 1938 on the street, when he ordered me to accompany him to Dr. Tashjian's office; I refused; that this same John Henry Reese is now employed in the United States Department of Internal Revenue, which fact I established some time in January, 1942, by calling that department on the telephone; said Reese answered and attempted to discuss the matter of my 1941 income tax with me; that the last time I saw said John Henry Reese was at noon on February 24, 1942, when the Assembly Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities recessed for lunch; and immediately after hearing the testimony of Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian, aforementioned;

That said John Henry Reese was standing alone in the corridor outside the hearing room in the State Building, Los Angeles; I left the room ahead of the crowd and evidently surprised him at his post; he carried papers of the Internal Revenue Department in his hand; he asked me what Tashjian had said, but I did not reply;

That shortly after I returned my Communist Party membership book to Minna Klein, the aforementioned C. H. ("Brick") Garrigues called

on me at my residence, then 1247 Huntley Drive, Los Angeles, and pleaded with me to return to the Communist Party; he informed me that it was the decision of the Professional Section Committee that I could continue my writing collaboration with said Theodor Robinson, if I wished, and that I could have any assignment in the Communist Party which I might want; I informed him I wanted no assignment within the Communist Party; that I wanted to forget my association with it;

That the aforementioned Walter McElroy, who was then Supervisor of the Federal Writers Project in San Francisco, came to Los Angeles and called on me at 1247 Huntley Drive, and stated he could arrange my transfer in WPA to San Francisco if I desired, that he could put me in touch with William Z. Foster, General Chairman of the Communist Party of United States, who was resting in California, and that I could arrange to work directly with Foster if I desired; I told McElroy that I had no desire to meet William Z. Foster or any other Communist Party official; that I wanted to be let alone to go my own way;

That shortly after I returned my membership book in the Communist Party, Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian called me by telephone and commanded me to come to his office in the Hillstreet Theatre Building (2d Floor, 815 South Hill Street), which I did; he escorted me into his dentist chambers and there alternately cajoled and threatened me and endeavored to discover how much I knew of Communist Party secrets; he stated that I could take an assignment in the Communist Party to report direct to him, if I wished, which assignment would be spying on other Communist Party members; he stated that if I persisted in my hostile attitude to the Communist Party that I would be expelled from the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild (which expulsion process had not yet started) and that I would be deprived of an opportunity to make a living in Los Angeles; my arguments came to naught with him, he would not listen to my criticism of the Communist Party;

That said Dr. Tashjian formed the habit of calling me by telephone at such hours as two or three o'clock in the morning, and would say in a voice full of mystery, "I want to see you, comrade." That on every occasion he telephoned me I agreed to talk to him in his office after working hours, but that each interview was a repetition of the last one; on one occasion I recall that we were discussing the dishonesty of the "Popular Front" program of the Communist Party, and Dr. Tashjian replied that "We trained revolutionaries know that bourgeois governments must be overthrown by force"; that I knew he meant also the Government of United States because it is always mentioned in Communist Party literature as a "bourgeois" government; that I then and there ceased argument with Dr. Tashjian;

That some time in October, 1938, said Dr. Tashjian requested my appearance in his office; I went, and he informed me that my activities in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild in opposition to the desires of the Communist Party fraction therein indicated that I was a "Trotskyite"; he did not inform me that I would be, or was, expelled from the Communist Party, but I later heard him testify under oath that he had expelled me from the Communist Party for "Trotskyite" activities;

That shortly thereafter, Robert Brownell, who had been extremely friendly and deferential to me during my membership in the Communist Party, informed me that I was no longer his editorial assistant on

the History Essay of the Los Angeles Guide, and that I must move my desk out of his office, which I did; that I was put on the most menial sort of research work; that my research notes were frequently "lost" at the project, and that all manner of obstacles were thrown in my path at work; that my salary was reduced from \$94 monthly to \$85 monthly by Brownell, and that I was assigned to work under the Negro woman, Lillian Jones, a former Communist Party comrade; that during my association with said Brownell he informed me that he had acted as Secretary to Harry R. Bridges in San Francisco;

That Communist Party members whom I had known within the party hounded my footsteps, both at work and during my leisure time; wherever I went, I would look up and there would be a former comrade staring at me; sometimes it would be Donald A. Murray, sometimes Theodore Pezman, sometimes Leona McGenty, but more frequently, as I worked at research in the Los Angeles Public Library, I would see Eugene Linder, former member of Leo Gallagher's office staff, watching me from a corner in the room; this childish form of hide-and-seek did not particularly annoy me, although I knew it was intended to do so;

That one Ramon Welch obtained employment on the Federal Writers Project and attempted to draw me out on my opinion of the Communist Party, but I noticed that he made contact with Leona McGenty and other Communist Party members who frequented the Los Angeles Public Library, and therefore I did not become friendly with said Welch; this is the same Ramon Welch who is now Secretary of the Spanish Speaking People's Congress in Los Angeles, which I know to be a Communist organization;

That some time in the Spring of 1939, one Maurice ("Jerry") Kaplan, sports writer on the *People's Daily World*, whom I had known slightly within the Communist Party, approached me at my work in the Los Angeles Public Library; he first made a reference to my opposition to the Communist Party fraction of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, then stated that he would "hate to see anything happen to me"; I drew him out, and he stated he meant he would hate to see me meet with a fatal accident, but that such might be the case if I persisted in my opposition to the Communist Party;

That I was somewhat taken aback, mainly because this death threat followed so closely the pattern used by the underworld during the days of bootleggers, not because Kaplan was threatening my life; it then dawned on me suddenly that the Communist Party bore many striking resemblances to the gangs of Al Capone, "Bugs" Moran and others, and that many Communist Party members were true "gangster" types, including Maurice ("Jerry") Kaplan; that realization probably shaped my reply;

That I said to Kaplan: "You've got a powerful mob, pal, thousands of devoted mobsters, hundreds of venal politicians who'll play your game, a powerful press, and a hold on a lot of unions——"

That he agreed with me gleefully, apparently under the impression that I realized I could not combat such a force, then I shot at him: "Well, roll out your artillery, boy, there's going to be a war!"

That there was a war between myself and the Communist Party, and that my slogan is "never surrender";

That the so-called "party line" is taught to members of the Communist Party in new members class in such a way as to instill in the novitiate Communist a mystical awe of the "word from Moscow" and in such a way that the Communist Party member will never dare to question its wisdom; for instance, the new member is told immediately, as soon as he signs the application card to join the Communist Party, by the person who recruits him, that he is placing himself in the hands of the Communist Party, that he must accept its judgments and rely on its wisdom, that he must obey Communist Party orders as he would military command, for he is entering an army that is in a war, that he is dedicating himself, his brain as well as his hands, to a cause for which he must be willing to give his life if necessary; that there are special Communist Party terms to convey these meanings, but which terms are incomprehensible to the uninitiate;

#### COMMUNIST SCHOOLS

That in the first new members class I attended, aforementioned Sid Davidson (Martin) explained the foregoing matters to the assembled class, whose names are mentioned previously, that is, he informed us we had joined the Communist Party and that meant we had dedicated our lives to the cause of said party; that we were subject to the discipline of said party and that we must obey all party decisions as conveyed to us through official party channels without question, and that we must put implicit faith in the decisions of said party leaders because they were better informed than we on what our activities should be;

That in said new members class we novitiate Communists learned from our official manual and from our teacher, Sid Davidson (Martin) that the Communist Party of United States of America is an integral part of the Communist International with headquarters in Moscow; that all major decisions, that is those pertaining to world policy, are made by the Central Committee of said Communist International (COMINTERN) and that said decisions are relayed through official channels to each Communist Party of each country throughout the world, and that in the instance of United States, the National Central Committee in New York met and decided on how to apply the particular mandate within United States, and that this National decision was passed to the State committee of each State (or District) of the Communist Party of United States, and that the process of determining the most efficient manner of putting such mandate into practice was decided upon by said State Committee, which decision was passed to the next lower body, that is the various county committees throughout California, and that the process was there repeated, and that such decisions of the county committee as were made therein were passed on to the various sections in Los Angeles County, such as the Professional Section, the Harbor Section, the Industrial Section, the Goodyear Section, the Pasadena Subsection, the Hollywood Section and Santa Monica Subsection thereof and so on; that then the process was repeated and that decisions of the section were in turn passed on to the units of said section where again the process was repeated; that is, since the unit is the basic structure of the Communist Party to which each and every member of the Communist Party must belong, in the unit each member of the Communist Party had an opportunity to "discuss democratically" the

means which members of that unit should use in order to put said Communist Party decisions into practice, and that this was the extent of Communist Party democracy, because members had no right to question the decision of a higher body, and that once a unit as a whole arrived at a decision this must be carried out without further discussion by each and every member thereof even though he had disapproved of said decision; that each member had a right to appeal a decision to the next higher body of the Communist Party, but that during such appeal he must carry out the mandate;

That said Sid Davidson (Martin) informed the aforementioned new members class that the Communist International arrived at its conclusions by studying digests of reports from all over the world, and that whatever decision it made, was made with a view toward benefiting the Communist Party on a world-wide basis; that in order to compile these reports each member of the Communist Party must turn over all information of the nature he was instructed by his unit to gather to said unit, which turned it over to the next higher body and so on up to the Comintern; that each body digested such material as was submitted to it and sent its report to the next higher body, and so on;

That, after I went out into general Communist Party work I learned from official mandates that much espionage was carried on by the entire membership of the Communist Party; that material desired by the Communist Party officially was: (1) All available information on labor unions and the members thereof, especially with respect to their attitudes, individually, toward the Communist Party and members thereof; (2) all possible information on enemies of the Communist Party, especially those who had obtained secrets about the Communist Party; (3) any possible information that could be obtained about the operation of industrial plants, such as processes, machinery and transportation facilities to and from said plant; (4) any possible information that could be obtained about government bureaus and personnel thereof; (5) any possible information that could be obtained about political figures, preferably that which could be used to "bring them to terms," as it were;

That during the time I was in the Communist Party and from my official party contacts, I never learned the exact operation of this espionage system; that no specific instructions were given, that while reports were made within the units to which I belonged, I do not know of the progress of these reports to or within higher bodies; that I formed the conclusion that this so-called "mass espionage" was conducted more for the purpose of "activating" members, that is, giving them something to do in which they felt a sense of importance, rather than for the purpose of obtaining a mass of detail on, for instance, the operation of the Works Progress Administration;

That during the time I was in the Communist Party and attached to official units thereof, the so-called "party line" was transmitted to unit members through what was termed an "Org" letter, or a mimeographed letter supposedly compiled in the county headquarters of the Communist Party in Los Angeles and sent to all the unit organizers thereof; That during my attendance, such "Org" letters were read to Unit 131 at each meeting thereof by Walter McElroy, the organizer of that Unit, to Unit 130 at each meeting thereof by Leona McGenty, the

organizer thereof, and to Unit 140 by Herbert Klein, the organizer thereof;

That during the time I was in the Communist Party as a full-fledged member, that is, from January, 1937, to August, 1938, that the general "party line" for the world was "collective security," that is, the collaboration of all governments and agencies within countries who could be persuaded to enter such an arrangement, against Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy;

That within United States, according to official Communist Party literature which I read and according to the aforementioned "Org" letters, the application of the "collective security" line meant: (1) Boycotting German-made merchandise as well as, for a while, boycotting Japanese-made goods, especially silk stocks; (2) any and all possible assistance to Loyalist Spain in its fight against Franco; (3) all possible propaganda vituperation against these aforementioned indicated enemies at any and all times by all members of the Communist Party, in writings, in speeches, in conversations with individuals; that these "smear" terms were handed down to us as official terminology by which to refer to not only the aforementioned governments but also to other enemies of the Communist Party whom the Communist Party officially wished to link with these governments and ideologies; for instance, to apply the term "Fascist" to an individual did not mean to a Communist Party member that the person so titled was a member of the Fascist Party of Italy, but that he was a person who was to be "isolated" from general society and that the use of that term, which had been officially smeared by the Communist International would mean the social destruction of the individual; that the same was true of the term "Nazi" or "Hitlerite";

That there were many, many ramifications of the application of said "collective security" line of the Communist Party, but that this serves to illustrate the manner in which the Communist Party operates within;

#### COMMUNIST OATH

That at the time I took the oath of membership into the Communist Party said oath was very vague in terminology and that I had no idea of what would be required of me by my signature to it; that as I recall it I agreed merely to abide by the discipline of the Communist Party and to accept its decisions;

That at a later date during which time I was a member of the Communist Party, I attended a general membership meeting of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles and heard about 200 new members take the oath, and that in said ritual these new members swore with upraised fists (in the Communist salute) that they would consider the Soviet Union their country and that they swore full allegiance to said Soviet Union;

That throughout the time I was in the Communist Party all teachings were slanted in such a way that a member could not possibly believe the allegiance of the Communist Party officially was to any country or government other than the Soviet Union; that the aforementioned Soviet Union, as a government, as the headquarters of the Communist International, as the originator of both political and cultural ideology,

was the sacred country of the world; that all other governments were criticized, labelled as "Fascist," "imperialist" or "bourgeois"; that the latter term was most frequently applied to the Government of United States;

That in New Members Class Sid Davidson (Martin) gave us the explanation that all "capitalist" governments must be overthrown eventually before a world Soviet government could be established; that his wording was vague and his meaning unclear, and that only after I became aware of the operations and the terminology of the Communist Party did I understand his meaning; that he explained that within United States the "progressive" forces were in a position to capture key Government positions during the Roosevelt regime, and that such "progressive" forces must defend their "progressive" government against "reaction," by arms if necessary; that it was not until my aforementioned conversation with Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian with reference to the aims of the Popular Front and at which time he informed me that Communist Party members of long standing understood the Government of United States must be overthrown, that I fully comprehended the meaning of the terms used in New Members Class by Sid Davidson (Martin);

That I have formed many conclusions about the nature of the Communist Party, none of which are favorable to it; but that I realize from observation that it is a powerful force within the United States for the reason that it attracts not only the social misfits of the "gangster" type, but a large per cent of unassimilated Europeans and Asiatics for which people in the United States have the deepest sympathy and respect, and also that it so cleverly couches its propaganda that it wins the devotion of many honest Americans who have not the educational background and mental balance to think for themselves; that it attracts opportunists, satellites and sycophants because of its strength, and that it presents one of the major problems of the United States today.

Dated this twenty-third day of November, 1942.

RENA M. VALE

[SEAL]

Subscribed and sworn to before me this twenty-third day of November, 1942.

J. H. GOSLING

Notary Public in and for the County of Los Angeles, State of California.

## PART II

### THE KING, CONNER, RAMSAY CASE

On November 28, 1941 three men, who were serving a minimum sentence set by the California Prison Board of Terms and Paroles, of 20 years, were suddenly and unexpectedly paroled from San Quentin Prison. These men were Earl King, Frank Conner and E. G. Ramsay. On the day the men were released, a statement by the Attorney General, Earl Warren, appeared in most of the daily newspapers in California. The statement of the Attorney General is as follows:

"The release of King, Ramsay and Conner is an outrage to public decency and a blow against the security of human life in California. These men initiated the brutal murder of a law abiding citizen without provocation and while he was peaceably engaged in earning a living for his wife and three babies. They didn't give him a chance for his life. He was beaten with blunt instruments and hacked with knives until he was dead in his own living quarters on the Steamship *Point Lobos* where the assassins laid in wait for him. King, Ramsay and Conner were fairly convicted by a jury, sentenced by the judge, their conviction affirmed by the appellate courts and now their guilt is vouched for by the very parole board that today released them after only four years and some months of imprisonment. Human life has indeed been cheapened! The murderers are free today, not because they are rehabilitated criminals, but because they are politically powerful Communistic radicals. Their parole is the culmination of a sinister program of subversive politics, attempted bribery, terrorism and intimidation which has evidenced itself in so many ways during the past three years."

This statement by the Attorney General of the State of California, emphatic and certain, brought the matter under the jurisdiction of the committee. Public hearings were immediately opened in the Civic Auditorium in the City of San Francisco December 1, 1941, and ended with the examination of certain prisoners at San Quentin Prison, December 6, 1941.

Witnesses subpoenaed and examined in this investigation are as follows:

George E. Bodle  
Louise R. Bransten  
Archie Brown  
Manuel Cabral  
John E. Chadwick  
C. L. Doose

Clinton T. Duffy  
Frank P. Foisie  
Booth B. Goodman  
Aubrey Grossman  
Matthew G. Guidera  
Ralph E. Hoyt

Miles G. Humphrey	Dr. David G. Schmidt
Don Morton	William Schneiderman
John Mustak	Dr. Leo Stanley
Victor Nelson	J. H. Stephens
W. D. Nelson	George Wallace
Mervyn Rathborne	Earl Warren
David Rodgers	

#### LEGAL HISTORY OF THE CASE

Earl King, E. G. Ramsay, Frank Conner and George Wallace were indicted by the Grand Jury of Alameda County as principals in the murder of George W. Alberts.

The grand jury indictment against King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace, charging them with murder, was returned October 21, 1936, and the trial ended January 5, 1937. Sakovitz and four unidentified sailors from the *S. S. Arctic*, were named in the indictment but were never apprehended.

King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace were tried before a jury in Alameda County and all four were found guilty of murder in the second degree. King, Ramsay and Conner appealed from the individual judgments of conviction and from orders denying each a new trial. Wallace did not appeal. The judgments of conviction, and the orders appealed from were, in each case, affirmed by the District Court of Appeal, First District, Division One, December 28, 1938 and a rehearing was denied January 12, 1939. A hearing was denied by the Supreme Court of California January 26, 1939.

George W. Alberts was chief engineer on a steamer known as the *Point Lobos*. He was killed in his stateroom on Sunday morning, March 22, 1936.

#### LABOR BACKGROUND

At the time of the killing of Chief Engineer George W. Alberts, King, Conner and Ramsay were connected with the *Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Union*. King was the secretary and chief executive officer of the union; Ramsay was a patrolman of the union; and Conner, an oiler on the ship *Point Lobos*, was the union's delegate on the ship. George Wallace and Sakovitz were active members of the same union. It should be noted that there were no labor difficulties on the waterfront at the time of Alberts' death.

#### COMMUNIST BACKGROUND

Matthew G. Guidera was a delegate for the *Marine Ships, Cooks and Stewards*, A. F. of L., on the *Point Lobos* in 1936. Speaking of Earl King, Guidera testified (Volume V, pp. 1429-1447): "Mr. King has been known on the waterfront for a period of years, regardless of anything you may hear from others, as an official spokesman and representative of the Communist Party." Manuel Cabral, according to Guidera, was a member of the Communist Party and at one time solicited Guidera to join the party. Revels Cayton, a member of the Communist Party, also attempted to induce Guidera to join the

party. Guidera stated that he had discussed Communism with Earl King on a number of occasions and had from time to time discussed the Communist Party line on the waterfront with him, Cayton, and Paul Boyles. Cayton was the Communist fraction leader of the group. Guidera was acquainted with Ben Sakovitz and knew him as "Wimpy" Sakovitz. Guidera stated that Sakovitz was introduced to him as a member of the Communist Party.

New needs, ambitions and policies of Soviet Russia had come into being in 1935. The Trojan Horse cavalrymen were riding. More than ever before the Communist Party was desirous of controlling shipping and transportation. The general strike of 1934 had demonstrated the power of the Communist Party on San Francisco's waterfront. Communist Party members had made great inroads into the waterfront unions, and Guidera was certain that his own union, the *Marine Ships, Cooks and Stewards*, was controlled by the party members in it.

Attorney General Earl Warren, who was district attorney of Alameda County at the time King, Conner and Ramsay were prosecuted and convicted for the murder of George Alberts, testified at length. (Volume VI, pp. 1643-1693.) He stated that there had been innumerable people beaten within an inch of their lives on the waterfront during this period. They were labor union men who disagreed with King and his crowd. Many of these men disappeared and were never found. Some were found, one or two weeks later, floating in the San Francisco Bay. One man was found floating in the bay, wrapped up and manacled in a chain just two weeks before King, Ramsay and Conner were indicted for murder. The Attorney General observed that after King, Ramsay and Conner were tried and convicted, the beatings and drownings of men in the bay area discontinued almost entirely. He stated: "In my humble opinion, it was due to the conviction of those men."

The Attorney General offered a photostat of a copy of a letter written by Earl King to Paul M. Sorensen, chief engineer of the steamship *Malama*. The Attorney General, in his presentation of the letter to the committee, stated: "It shows the attitude of Mr. King, not only toward this man Alberts, but toward other chief engineers, who were perhaps in a similar position to him. It is a rather vitriolic letter, and one that shows extreme arrogance; and there are innumerable threats—veiled threats—contained in it."

The letter presented to the committee by the Attorney General was on the letterhead of the Pacific Coast *Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water-tenders and Wipers Association*, 58 Commercial Street; Kearny 3699; and is dated August 13, 1936. The letter is as follows:

"Paul M. Sorensen, Chief Engineer,  
*S. S. Malama*,  
Matson Navigation Company,  
Pier 32,  
San Francisco, California.

"DEAR SIR: We have had a great many complaints about your attitude toward firemen's ship delegates. We are putting your name on the blackboard permanently as a

troublemaker. Our firemen's delegates are supposed to work in the interest of the Firemen's Union aboard ship, to see that they get the proper overtime, and proper working rules, as provided in the award.

"We have had numerous complaints about you, that you individually take it upon yourself to break our working rules, and conditions that we are supposed to get under the arbitration award. When you got into the last trouble with our men, we asked our firemen to get off the ship, rather than cause friction between the Engineers Association and our association. However, we are putting your name on our blackboard so that we will remember it at the next violation of our working rules that you try to impose on your members.

"One more violation and our members will refuse to sail with you on any ship on the Pacific Ocean that you happen to be on, and we discover you on this ship. This is official, so please be governed accordingly if you have any desire to keep harmony between the Engineers Association and in the Maritime Federation. Any more violations and we will print your name to be circulated up and down the coast, as a disruptor of union unity and we will ask all of our members on any ship that you go on to give you plenty of noncooperation. We will see to it that your name is associated with a common cur dog, of the female variety.

"If you think the Firemen's Union is going to be dictated to by a lunkhead like you, just try one more violation of our award. We will be delighted to have you do it, as we would be glad to reduce such ilk as yourself. I understand that now that you have become a chief, you have lost all touch with the idea that you belong to the working class, and you think that you are a God Almighty. We hope you have pleasant thoughts along these lines, because you will soon be deflated from your bombastic opinion of yourself.

"If you want to fight with the Firemen's Union, we will be glad to give it to you. If you want to pull in your haunches and be a good member of the Maritime Federation, conduct yourself like a gentleman, you will find we will be willing to do the same. Continue to act as you have and no fireman will sail with you. I don't know whether you are a 'fink' or not, but you certainly have all the actions of one.

"Yours truly,

"EARL KING, Secretary."

#### GEORGE W. ALBERTS

As we have said, George W. Alberts was the Chief Engineer on the Steamer *Point Lobos*. He was about 37 years old at the time of his death, in excellent physical condition and stood about six feet in

height and weighed around 200 pounds. Matthew G. Guidera told the committee that the chief engineer was very vehement and emphatic in his opposition to Communism and that he had heard Alberts express himself on many occasions against Communism and Communist activities.

From Guidera the committee learned something of the last trip made by the *Point Lobos* prior to the murder of its chief engineer, Alberts. During the trip to the East Coast considerable difficulty developed with the crew. There were several stoppages of work on the gulf and Guidera stated that all of these stoppages and difficulties were inspired by Frank Conner, the delegate for the *Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water-tenders and Wipers Association*. Most of these difficulties were between the engine force and the Chief Engineer, Mr. Alberts. In Mobile, Alabama, the loading of the cargo was stopped at the instigation of Frank Conner. Trouble also developed in New Orleans. On the way home, Guidera stated, there was a meeting on board the ship of the three delegates for the deck, engine and stewards' departments. It should be remembered that Guidera was a delegate on board the *Point Lobos* for the *Marine Ships, Cooks and Stewards*. The question before the meeting was in reference to activities of the respective unions when the *Point Lobos* docked on the West Coast. Guidera stated that "nobody trusted the 'deck department' too well" and that the discussion did not go into detail for that reason. Apparently Chief Engineer Alberts' antagonism to the Communist Party and its members in shipping and on ships had been discussed. Frank Conner, at that time, told Guidera that he would "have to get rid of Alberts." In the jargon of ships, shipping and the waterfront, "to get rid of a man" was to finish him completely, "not just dump him—there was no such thing as 'dumping'" mentioned. Guidera explained that by "dumping" a man was meant "beating him up and letting him live a little while." He stated that Connor said, "'I suppose we will have to get rid of Alberts.' I know Conner; and I know he meant what he said; and I knew, when he said it, he had the connections to carry out what he said."

When the *Point Lobos* arrived in San Pedro, Guidera sought out Chief Engineer Alberts and told him that he ought to leave the ship, relating to him what he had heard from Conner. Alberts laughed at him. Guidera, however, told Captain William D. Lion, who was at that time the Operating Superintendent for the Swayne and Hoyt Steamship Company. Guidera testified: "I told Captain Lion he should have Mr. Alberts removed because, if he didn't, Mr. Alberts would not sail with the ship. He paid no attention to me."

From the uncontested facts of the case the committee learned that on Saturday morning, March 21, 1936, Conner telephoned King at the office of the union in San Francisco, telling him that Alberts had discharged one Edward Widmer, a member of the engine-room crew and a member of the union, without paying him all of his overtime money due and asked King to send a patrolman over and get the matter fixed up. George Wallace was at the union headquarters at about the time Conner telephoned to King. King saw Wallace and asked him if he wanted to go on a job, to which Wallace replied that he did not and walked away. Ramsay and "Wimpy" Sakovitz met

Wallace a short time after and told him that he had better come back to King's office as King wanted to see him. Wallace returned to King's office with Ramsay and Sakovitz.

Once in the office, Ramsay said to King: "That God-damned fink, he belongs to some company union and he needs a lesson."

There was some further discussion and King said: "Go over and beat him up."

Thereafter King went to the outer office of the union where A. M. Murphy, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer of the union, was located. King directed Murphy to give Ramsay \$30 and Murphy did so, after King told him that the money was to be used for an "expedition across the bay."

A bludgeon was secured by Sakovitz from the janitor of the building and given to Wallace. This bludgeon was described as one-half of a printing roller about 18 inches to two feet long and about four or five inches in thickness. Ramsay, Wallace, Sakovitz and a sailor whose name is not known, then proceeded to the Howard Terminal in Oakland where the *Point Lobos* was docked. They arrived on the dock about noon and remained there until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. During this time Ramsay twice left the group and boarded the *Point Lobos*. Upon his first return he remarked: "That God-damned fink, I talked to him and I could not get him off." Conner later joined the group on the dock. Ramsay boarded the ship a second time, and upon leaving said to the others: "I'm going aboard the ship and try to get him to come ashore." Upon rejoining the group, Ramsay stated: "The only way to get him is to go aboard the ship." Ramsay left the group a third time, going in the direction of the ship, but came running back saying: "He is coming." At this juncture a police officer in uniform appeared on the dock. Alberts, with a companion, had left the ship and, upon crossing the dock, entered an automobile and drove away. Upon Ramsay's warning that "You had better beat it," the men separated.

During the night the *Point Lobos* was moved to Encinal Dock in Alameda. On the morning of Sunday, March 22, 1936, Wallace and Sakovitz met in San Francisco. With them was the unknown sailor who had accompanied them the previous day. Sakovitz declared: "Well, I have to go over and get that God-damned fink." Wallace said that he did not want to go but Sakovitz warned him that he "had better come over if you know what is good for you." Thereupon, the three, Wallace, Sakovitz and the sailor, proceeded to the dock in Alameda. Sakovitz here gathered up two more sailors from the Steamer *Arctic*. Conner joined the group. Sakovitz undoubtedly took charge of the entire expedition and ordered Conner to go aboard and see if he could locate Alberts. At the same time Sankovitz explained to Conner and the rest of the group where each should station himself should Conner find Alberts aboard. They all then went aboard the ship and took their stations as planned. Wallace went to the starboard side of the ship near the passageway in which Alberts' stateroom was located, and was later seen with his hand on the knob of Alberts' stateroom door. Sakovitz went to the forward end of the passageway close to Albert's door, facing Conner, and the others took various positions about the deck of the ship.

George Alberts came aboard the ship with Captain Odeen. He went immediately to his cabin, laid his cap on the pillow of his bunk and removed his coat, preparing, perhaps, to change to more seagoing clothes, as the ship was about to sail. Conner immediately gave a signal with his hand to Sakovitz. In a few minutes a noise came from the chief engineer's stateroom, which was later described by Wallace as sounding like "Ugh, ugh, ugh." In a mere matter of seconds Sakovitz emerged with blood on his hands and told Wallace: "You had better beat it."

The deed was done. Alberts lay dead on the floor of his tiny cabin in a pool of his own blood.

We saw and studied the pictures of Alberts' cabin taken but a few minutes after his death. We saw the pictures of Alberts' mutilated body and heard the report of the physicians who scientifically—in cold, impartial, professional language—told of the wounds found upon the dead engineer's body and the cause of his death. The committee has never heard of a more cold-blooded, ruthless and unwarranted slaying of a human being. A hard and telling blow with a metal instrument had crushed the flesh from the back of Alberts' head. The pictures revealed hard and heavy blows behind each of the engineer's ears. A knife had been thrust into his neck, chest and shoulder. A powerful thrust carried the blade of a knife through both walls of Alberts' abdomen. And, as if this were not enough, the knife was thrust with terrific force into Alberts' thigh, in the rear, and then ripped downward toward the knee-joint some nine and a half inches, severing the great artery. The engineer had entered his stateroom at about 11 o'clock Sunday morning. At about 11.20 a. m. the ship's first engineer opened the door of Alberts' stateroom to call him and found him dead. The killing had been accomplished and the escape of the assailants from the scene of the crime had been effected in about 15 minutes.

Upon hearing of Alberts' murder, Guidera immediately went to the district attorney's office in Alameda County and told them what he knew of the case. He promised to assist in any way desired.

#### CAMPUS UNIT NUMBER FIVE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Shortly after the commission of this revolting crime, a meeting was in progress of Campus Unit Number 5 of the Communist Party in an apartment occupied by James Burford on Channing Way, near College Avenue, in the City of Berkeley. (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794.) About 18 members of the unit were present. The meeting was interrupted. We will permit Don Morton, testifying under oath before the committee, to describe what happened:

"Well, there was a knock loud enough—we were in the center of the apartment; there's a room between where the meeting was held and the hall—we heard the knock, in the second room; and Mrs. Burford then called Jim—that's her son—and said there was someone who wanted to see him. He says, 'Is it important?' And she whispered—we could hear the whisper; and he said, 'Yes.' Then he brought these two men in \* \* \* He said,

'Comrades, two friends are here from downtown—', He didn't say they were comrades or mention their names; but that we would have to take up a collection to help a certain comrade in trouble out of town—that was all that was said.'

Morton testified that a collection was immediately taken up and the two men thanked everyone and left the apartment in a hurry. About a week later Morton asked a Mrs. Eastman, one of the communist members of Unit Number 5, about the collection that had been taken and she told Morton that it was for one of the boys who was being kept under cover at her place in San Francisco, a chap by the name of "Wimpy." Mrs. Eastman was very secretive about the whole affair but told Morton that the underworld knew about the trouble and that there were four or five involved.

#### FLIGHT

Sakovitz, Wallace and the unidentified sailor fled to Salt Lake City and from Salt Lake City to Chicago and from there to New York. Sakovitz told Wallace that he had friends who would secure passage for them to Russia. Nothing was done about this plan as far as Wallace was concerned and he returned to San Francisco.

Ramsay had returned part of the \$30 which Murphy had given to him the day before the killing at King's request. Ramsay told Murphy at that time that he was "hot." Murphy, at a loss as to how to enter the money in the books, took the matter up with King, who told him he would discuss it with him later.

Immediately upon his arrival in San Francisco, Wallace went to the union and talked to Murphy. He told Murphy he wanted to see King, but Murphy informed him that King was away.

The following morning Ramsay met Murphy and Wallace in Wallace's hotel room. Ramsay turned pale upon seeing Wallace and said: "For God's sakes, what are you here for?" Wallace replied: "I am here to find out what the score is." Ramsay stated that he did not believe the police were wise and that nobody knew who did the job, because he, Ramsay, had been thoroughly questioned by the police.

King remained absent from the city. Something had to be done. Murphy made an appointment with Lawrence Ross, the editor of the Communist West Coast paper, the *Western Worker*. Ross suggested that Wallace return to the east and keep in touch with Murphy under an assumed name. Ross also suggested that Wallace's union membership book be "phoneyed" so that Wallace could secure employment on East Coast ships. In accordance with Ross' suggestion, Murphy made out a new union book for Wallace under the name of "George White," with a notation showing the payment of all dues to July, 1936. It was then arranged that Wallace communicate with Murphy under the name of Albert Diekman. Wallace then, for the second time, left San Francisco for New York.

Wallace, in desperation, wrote to King, first under his own name and later under the name of George White. King failed to answer any of Wallace's letters.

On August 1, 1936, Wallace again returned to San Francisco and went immediately to King's hotel. He told the clerk his name was Wallace and that he wanted to see King. The clerk told him that King was not at home. A man by the name of O'Neill gave Wallace \$50 and told him to keep off the streets and avoid being seen by anyone. O'Neill also told him that Lawrence Ross tried to make arrangements for him to go to Russia but apparently had been unable to do so. He then suggested that Wallace go to Mexico.

King returned to San Francisco shortly after Wallace's second arrival and learned that Wallace was again in town. Wallace's union book was then stamped ahead to April, 1937, and Wallace was instructed to attempt to escape into Mexico.

Wallace went to El Paso, and from there to Del Rio and then on to Brownsville, Texas. While in Brownsville, he attempted to go to Mexico City, but not having sufficient money to get across the border, he wrote a letter to Murphy under the name of Albert Dickman, requesting that Murphy give the letter to King and that King write to him in Brownsville, Texas. Upon receipt of the letter Murphy told King about it and King said he would take care of it, but failed to do so.

Matthew G. Guidera, returning from Australia on the *S. S. Mariposa* early in July of 1936 was elected to negotiate for the *Marine Cooks and Stewards* on the Pacific Coast, preparatory to the 1936 waterfront strike. During the time that he served on this committee he occupied rooms at the Terminal Hotel located at 60 Market Street in the City of San Francisco with A. M. Murphy, the Assistant Secretary and Treasurer of the *Marine Firemen's Union*. Thus it was that he learned of Murphy receiving a letter from George Wallace, under the alias of "George White." The letter was postmarked "Del Rio, Texas" and Wallace told Murphy to tell King that he needed more money to get across the border into Mexico. Guidera immediately contacted the district attorney's office in Alameda County and arranged with George Hard, one of the inspectors of the office, for a dictaphone to be set up in Guidera's room in the Terminal Hotel. The dictaphone was set up between 3.30 and 4 in the evening and Guidera then called King and asked him to come over to the hotel. King complied and met Guidera in the lobby. They both went to Guidera's room and Guidera showed King the letter from Wallace.

"You sent those birds over to make a bungle of a job," Guidera said to King. (Volume V, p. 1435.)

Guidera testified that "King sat and crumpled the letter \* \* \* crumpled and wrinkled the letter. I said, 'What are you getting nervous about, Earl?' He said, 'I am not nervous; I'm not nervous at all.' Later, I asked, 'Why exactly did you send them over to kill Alberts?' He said, 'I sent them over, all right.' He paused—for a minute, he paused—he said, 'Forget about it all for a while. Now, let's forget it'."

Apparently King was suspicious of Guidera. "The night before, however," Guidera testified, "after I had the meeting with King in my hotel room, I attended District Council Number 2 of the *Marine Federation of the Pacific Coast*, which was being, at that time, held at 32 Clay Street, known as the 'Recreation Center for the Waterfront.'

During the meeting, Mr. King approached me and asked for a key to my hotel room; which I gave him so that he could arrange to get those letters. A few minutes afterward, he talked with Harry Bridges and Rathborne and others \* \* \* I saw him talking to Harry Bridges, Rathborne and a couple of others. He came back, and handed me the key; and said, 'It might be a frame up.' I said, 'If you're that way, O. K.'"

The arrest of King, Conner, Ramsay and Wallace followed.

#### COMMUNIST CAUSE CELEBRE

Conner immediately confessed his part in the entire affair. (September 3, 1936.) Attorney General Earl Warren told the committee about Frank Conner's confession. Mr. Warren stated:

"Well, the first thing that developed was the statement that Mr. Conner made to me, in my office, concerning his participation in this affair. The statement itself was made to me about the third of September—a day or two after he was brought down here from Seattle; and he told me, at that time, that all of these men mixed up in this affair, other than himself, were Communists; that King was a Communist; that Ramsay was a Communist; and that Wallace was a Communist; and he said that it was apparent to him that these fellows—referring to King and Ramsay—were going to take care of themselves, and going to throw him to the wolves; and he said, 'They're not going to do that with me; I know too much about them. That's the way these Comicals do.' He referred to them in that slang phrase as 'Comicals.' He said that he, personally, did not know that they intended to kill Alberts when they went in there; he thought they were just going in there to give him a very severe beating; and, had he known they were going to kill him, he wouldn't have consented and helped them and directed them to Alberts' stateroom at the psychological time to accomplish this beating. He said there were a few hundred Communists on this coast who were running many thousands of good labor organization men; and they were doing it by terror and intimidation; and he said, to me and to Mr. Hoyt, after the formal confession he made, that no matter what happened to him in this trial—he said, 'I'll never sail on another ship with as many as one Communist on the ship, because,' he said, 'when there is as many as one on there, it's trouble, trouble, trouble all the time you're out at sea.' He said, 'They are arrogant; they'll tell you to do something; and, if you don't do it, then they'll wait for you and you'll get it on the beach.' He said, 'You'll get dumped'—which means when they are ashore, they will have something happen to them, as happened to George Alberts in this case; and he told us how that situ-

ation had worked all over the world; he told how it worked here on the Pacific Coast; and we knew, of our own knowledge, of innumerable cases of men—many, many of them labor organization union men—who were beaten within an inch of their lives just because they wouldn't respond to this so-called leadership of Earl King and his crowd; men who wouldn't dare to come forward, or go to the authorities, to complain, for fear the thing would be repeated the next time they went on a job. You couldn't get any witnesses to testify for them if they did, because people were terrorized; and Frank Conner detailed to us that system which was in vogue; and he said there were only a few hundred of those people, in fact, but they were keeping—these aren't the words he used—but he said they were keeping in bondage hundreds of fine labor organization people on this coast, who had no sympathy with the thing at all—and I sincerely believe that is true—the average man who works on the waterfront—the average labor union man there—is as fine a citizen as you will find any place in this country—good law-abiding, family men; but they have been dominated and persecuted themselves by Earl King and his kind."

The Attorney General stated that George Alberts was murdered because he "was a courageous man \* \* \*. He would not tolerate the domination of King or any of his Communistic elements, and he refused to take dictation from him. In an effort to prove, to not only Alberts but everyone else who was similarly situated, that it was a very dangerous thing to do, Earl King sent these fellows over to do this job, \* \* \* that's the sum total of the reason."

The Attorney General stated that the *Western Worker*, Communist West Coast publication, the very day the defendants were arrested and before anyone knew the nature of the charge against them, started a campaign of abuse and vilification against Warren, who was then the District Attorney of Alameda County. This campaign has continued from that day to the present time by the Communist Party and its publications. (Volume VI, pp. 1643-1693.)

The indictment of the men was attacked by Lawrence Ross as a "labor frame-up."

Defense attorneys were soon secured for the defendants, with the exception of Wallace, who refused to accept the counsel selected for him. He fully confessed his participation in the crime. George Andersen, who usually represents the Communist Party in California, represented Earl King. Herbert Resner represented Frank Conner.

Miles G. Humphrey, former member of the Communist Party, knew Herbert Resner when Resner was the editor of the "*Daily Californian*," campus paper at the University of California at Berkeley. (Volume V, pp. 1616-1631.) Aubrey Grossman had referred to Resner, in the presence of Humphrey, as a Communist Party member.

The State, in its prosecution of the defendants, carefully avoided the issue of Communism. It was the attorneys for the defendants who

emphasized this point. George Andersen and Herbert Resner particularly utilized it in their challenges to veniremen. Attorney General Earl Warren testified that Andersen and Resner asked "whether or not the jury would be influenced or prejudiced by the fact that the defendants might be known as Communists or might be proved to be Communists." (Volume VI, p. 1659.)

Ralph E. Hoyt has been the District Attorney of Alameda County since January of 1939. (Volume V, pp. 1543-1573.) He was formerly the chief assistant district attorney to Earl Warren when the latter was the district attorney. Hoyt had been with the district attorney's office since 1919 and participated in the trial of King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace.

He recited the details of the murder of George Alberts. The chief engineer had been discovered by a brother officer at about 11.20 a.m., Sunday, March 22, 1936. Hoyt stated that the chief engineer was found seated in a pool of his own blood; that his skull was fractured; that he was disemboweled, and that a long, deep gash had been inflicted on the back of one thigh. He introduced exhibits and pictures of the corpse into the committee's records.

King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace had been found guilty by a jury in Alameda County of second degree murder. Hoyt recounted the voluntary statement of Frank Conner made prior to the trial in which Conner had told of the difficulties he had had with the Communist Party and of his fear of being abandoned by them in his difficulty. Hoyt recited the testimony of A. M. Murphy, concerning the Communist Party and its connection with the murder. He told of Murphy's statements concerning Lawrence Ross, Communist Party functionary and editor of the *Western Worker*, and how Ross had been contacted concerning money for Sakovitz and Wallace. Ross had told Murphy that it would be necessary for him to get in touch with the Soviet Union before passage could be provided for the murderers and that "there had to be certain underground things done." Ross had suggested to Murphy that Wallace's union membership book be "phoneyed up" so that Wallace could secure work in the east. Murphy had agreed to provide money for Wallace and Sakovitz to travel to New York City.

Hoyt read passages from the *Western Worker* published during the trial of the men, showing the strong Communist interest in the case. The *Western Worker* branded the entire prosecution as a "frameup by shipowners." Matthew Guidera was branded as a "stool pigeon," et cetera, by the Communist sheet.

The district attorney related Wallace's confession and the attempts made to bribe Wallace into accepting Communist Party choice of attorneys. Wallace had refused to let the Communist Party trap him. Despite precedence and contrary to the usual procedure in reference to defendants who turn State's evidence, Hoyt pointed out that George Wallace was still incarcerated in San Quentin, while King, Conner and Ramsay were paroled. He also presented copies of the *Western Worker* and the *People's Daily World* as evidence of the Communist Party's campaign to free King, Ramsay and Conner.

Every important witness against the defendants was a member of a bona fide labor organization.

Matthew G. Guidera, after the exposé of the ship murder, was expelled from the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Association*. He was accused of being a "stool pigeon" and a "frame artist." He testified that he was expelled without the benefit of a trial. The trial committee consisted of five members, Guidera stated, and at least three of them were known to be members of the Communist Party and the other two "as questionable." Manuel Cabral was named by Guidera as one of the Communist Party members.

Cabral denied that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party. (Volume VI, pp. 1729-1730.) He admitted, however, knowing Ernest G. Ramsay, having made a trip around the world with him in 1935 on the *S. S. Monroe*. He stated that Ramsay had never discussed Communism with him.

Conner, in his confession, stated that King, Ramsay and Wallace were all members of the Communist Party. (Volume VI, pp. 1643-1693.)

When Wallace had confessed he was immediately accused by the Communists in San Francisco as being a "labor spy." Later they offered him \$5,000 if he would accept one of their attorneys and Wallace refused. The defense attorneys for the others then claimed that Wallace had no right to the public defender as he had means (which they had offered him) to employ private counsel. This point delayed the trial and it had to be decided by the court. It was decreed that Wallace had a right to the public defender. (Vol. VI, pp. 1643-1693.)

In the late summer of 1936 defense committees for King, Ramsay and Conner began to mushroom out of closed Communist Party caucuses. (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794.) Four or five Communist members of Berkeley's Unit Number 5, grew into larger committees. The original members were Herbert Naboebeck, James Burford, Glen Mayfield, Aubrey Grossman and Don Morton. Naboebeck was assigned to contact the unions and gathered a list of 95 members with addresses in the East Bay area (*Marine Firemen's Union*); Mayfield was assigned to contact public speakers and to supply them with information; Grossman was assigned to collect funds and to contact faculty members at the University of California for legal assistance; Burford was put in charge of education and propaganda and Don Morton was assigned to writing up the necessary material for these activities. Don Morton told of a meeting at Mrs. Eastman's home on Derby Street in Berkeley some time in July of 1936 when Aubrey Grossman reported that he had collected funds from some 20 or 25 faculty members at the University of California and that these sums averaged \$15 to \$20 apiece.

John Gee Clark, immediately after being appointed to the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles by Governor Olson, took steps to parole King, Conner and Ramsay. The Attorney General stated that the Advisory Pardon Board staged a big demonstration for the felons in May of 1940 and that they crowded in all the Communists they could find. Lieutenant Governor Patterson cast the only vote for their pardon at that time. (Volume VI, pp. 1643-1693.)

Mervyn Rathborne denied ever having been a member of the Communist Party or of the *Young Communist League*. (Volume VII, pp. 2008-2024.) He is secretary of the San Francisco C. I. O. Council and a member of the *American Communications Association*, Local 9. He

knew Archie Brown and Ben Jones as members of the Communist Party. Rathborne subscribed to the *People's Daily World* and knew Harry Bridges "very well."

Rathborne is a member of the King, Ramsay, Conner Defense Committee. He presented the committee with copies of resolutions passed by the San Francisco C. I. O. Council calling for the release of the men. He also submitted a photostatic copy of a check for \$1,500 from the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee which was signed by David J. McDonald and Phillip Murray. Rathborne was a member of the executive committee of the King, Ramsay, Conner Defense Committee along with Miriam Dinkin, V. J. Malone and George Hardy. He stated that the committee did not work for the release of George Wallace. He stated that he did not know if King, Ramsay or Conner were members of the Communist Party. He stated that the defense committee had received evidence which established the innocence of King, Ramsay and Conner uncovered by Aubrey Grossman and Herbert Resner. He did not know if Grossman or Resner were members of the Communist Party. He concluded his testimony by stating that he believed the three men had been framed by the Employers' Group.

The Board of Prison Terms and Paroles and the Advisory Pardon Board under the Olson administration up to the appointment of Booth Goodman, who replaced John Gee Clark when he was appointed a Superior Court Judge in the County of Los Angeles, made little headway in either securing a pardon or a parole for the felons. Governor Culbert L. Olson, after having spent a day with King, Conner and Ramsay in San Quentin Prison, announced that he had come to the conclusion that these men did not look like murderers and that he regarded the evidence against them as flimsy and very largely impeached and that he was considering a pardon for them. This announcement on the part of the Governor came shortly after the Communist Party was excluded from the ballot by action of the California Legislature. On Friday, October 11, 1940, Miss Anita Whitney made a broadcast over the National Broadcasting Blue Network in which she said :

"I would like to ask Governor Olson: When you met in your own home with the leaders of the Communist Party in 1938, and accepted our assistance and support for your election, you did not think we were subversive or un-American then, did you? When you were elected Governor with the help of Communist votes, you did not think that we were anything but good Americans, did you? But today, Governor Olson, you have gone over so completely to reaction that you are eating your own words of 1938. You have found it necessary and expedient to do this, since you have gone over to the war camp, which wishes to drag America into the imperialist war.

"The Governor's speech on the radio was hypocritical and revealed a guilty conscience. He admitted there was a large section of public opinion opposed to his signing the anti-Communist bill. He practically admitted there is grave doubt, expressed to him by some of his own

attorneys, as to whether the bill is constitutional. He admitted that the Communist Party is neither illegal nor is it outlawed by this bill. He admitted that the bill discriminates against the Communist Party, by depriving it of the election rights that other parties have. He admitted all these things, and yet he signed the bill, and wants the people to believe there is nothing undemocratic about his action."

The Governor had signed the bill outlawing the Communist Party early in October of 1940. It was about three days later, without consulting Mr. Hoyt, District Attorney of Alameda County, or the Attorney General or anyone who had had anything to do with the investigation and prosecution of the King, Conner, Ramsay case, that the Governor made the trip to San Quentin Prison above-mentioned and spent the better part of the day with the three prisoners, King, Conner and Ramsay. (Vol. VI, pp. 1643-1693.)

Governor Olson's contemplated pardon of the three felons met with a storm of public indignation. Shortly thereafter, he appointed Booth Goodman to the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, replacing John Gee Clark. Archie Lyons had been on the board for about two years and the Governor, with the appointment of Booth Goodman, had a majority of the three members. Almost immediately after Goodman's appointment to the Board, Lyons and Goodman voted for the parole of King, Conner and Ramsay; Stevens, the other member of the board voting against parole.

#### SPECIAL PRIVILEGES AT SAN QUENTIN

Clinton T. Duffy, Warden of San Quentin Penitentiary, was questioned at length concerning the conduct and the alleged special privileges granted King, Conner and Ramsay while confined in the prison. (Volume VI, pp. 1806-1818.) Duffy was appointed to the position of Warden of San Quentin Prison by the State Pardon Board of Prison Directors on September 1, 1940, and had been acting warden since July 13, 1940. His position as warden automatically made him a member of the Advisory Pardon Board. The other members of this board were Lieutenant Governor Ellis E. Patterson, Warden Clyde Plummer of Folsom, and Mr. Stone of the Bureau of Identification.

Earl King, Ernest G. Ramsay, Frank Conner and George Wallace were incarcerated in San Quentin Prison when Duffy became warden. Duffy stated that he did not know of any special privileges granted them. King had certain specific duties on the waterfront of the prison which, Duffy stated, gave him an opportunity to contact persons on incoming barges. Such contact, Duffy explained, would, of course, be under the supervision of an officer of the prison. This particular officer had charge of all prisoners engaged in unloading barges and sometimes two or three officers supervised the work, depending on the number of prisoners so engaged. Duffy added: "We place some trust in our inmates."

King was permitted to sleep outside the prison walls because he was on duty at a donkey-engine 24 hours a day. All of King's predecessors in this assignment had slept outside the walls. Duffy con-

sidered King capable and trustworthy for this position. Assignments for such jobs outside the prison walls, Duffy explained, were made by a committee of the officers of the penitentiary. Only some 12 or 15 prisoners are permitted to sleep outside the walls, out of the 4,000 inmates in the institution. Duffy did not consider this to be a special privilege although he admitted that permitting the men to sleep outside of cell blocks was so considered. He knew of no contraband brought into the prison while King was on the waterfront.

Ramsay had worked outside the prison walls in the fire department for a short time.

C. L. Doose, a Lieutenant of the Guard at San Quentin Prison for about seven months, in charge of the reception of visitors at the prison, was questioned concerning the visitors who called at the penitentiary to see King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace. (Volume VII, pp. 2078-2083.) Doose identified many visitors' slips and explained the manner in which they were filled out. He stated that visitors were allowed to stay one hour which was an invariable rule, although the slips showed that the visitors stayed a much longer time with King, Ramsay and Conner. Doose admitted that he had permitted the members of the King, Ramsay and Conner Defense Committee to interview these prisoners in his office instead of in the usual visitor's room. He had become acquainted with the members of the defense committee but could not remember their names. The only member of the King, Conner, Ramsay Defense Committee remembered by Doose was Miriam Dinkin. He stated that he did not know of any defense committee for Wallace. Wallace had to greet his visitors in the regular visiting room. Doose stated that he only permitted attorneys to see prisoners in his office and that he only gave this permission on other occasions for special business, such as the members of the King, Conner, Ramsay Defense Committee.

Victor Nelson is a Sergeant of the Guard at San Quentin and has been employed at the penitentiary for 13 years. (Volume VII, pp. 2074-2078, and 2084.) He is a guard on the waterfront at night and his watch starts at 4 p.m. and finishes at midnight. No barges unload during his watch. He testified that King cooked his own meals in a cabin on the waterfront and secured his food from the commissary. Ernest G. Ramsay, Mr. Nelson testified, relieved King for one night outside the wall.

#### EMPLOYMENT FOR PAROLEES

Your committee was interested in learning why King, Conner and Ramsay had been released without having immediate employment. It is generally understood that the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles never parole convicted felons unless the board is assured that bona fide employment awaits them upon their release from prison. For this purpose, among others, the committee subpoenaed John E. Chadwick, a State parole officer since September of 1940. (Volume V, pp. 1631-1639.) Chadwick stated that it was quite true that the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles must be assured, in every case, that released felons will immediately be employed. Chadwick had personally ascertained that King and Ramsay had employment before they were released from San Quentin. He stated that Earl King had been offered

a job by two C. I. O. Unions, one as a longshoreman and the other as a maintenance man in a union building on Golden Gate Avenue. King had accepted the latter position and had reported for work. Ramsay had furnished bond and was released to the immigration authorities for deportation and the entire matter was referred to the Attorney General's office. Meanwhile, Ramsay was "working on the waterfront" handling freight. He was employed by the C. I. O. *Warehousemen's and Longshoremen's Union* in a classification of employment which was not subject to the approval of the *Employers' Association*. Conner was in the Stanford Hospital under the care of a Dr. French for mental and emotional instability.

Chadwick stated that he had found the unions reliable in placing men in employment when they agreed to do so upon their parole from prison. Some unions were very reliable in placing released convicts, such as the *Marine Firemen's Union* and others were very uncooperative such as Local 47 of the *Musicians' Union* in Los Angeles.

In probing the matter of the alleged employment of King, Conner and Ramsay upon their release from San Quentin Prison, Frank P. Foisie, the President of the *Waterfront Employers' Association* of San Francisco, was examined. (Volume V, pp. 1342-1349.) Foisie had been president of the association since 1938 and presides at all of the board and membership meetings. He stated that no one can obtain a job on the waterfront unless that employment is considered by a joint committee of the Longshoremen's Unions and the *Waterfront Employers' Association*. He personally examined the records of the association and found no indication there of an application for employment of Earl King, Ernest G. Ramsay or Frank Conner for work on San Francisco's waterfront. He submitted minutes of the last meeting of the association to the committee. He concluded his testimony by stating that he knew the Defense Committee for King, Ramsay and Conner was organized by the Communists on the waterfront and in the waterfront unions to secure a pardon for the prisoners.

The subterfuge used here should be obvious without comment. The board had no assurance that the men would receive legitimate employment. They were released to certain unions which, according to Chadwick, were to secure employment for them.

#### THE PAROLE BOARD

The committee made every attempt to subpoena Archie Lyons of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles but was unable to serve him. Booth B. Goodman, the chairman of the board, testified December 2, 1941. (Volume V, pp. 1573-1616.) Goodman, in addition to being Chairman of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, was also a Director of Penology for the State of California, and had been appointed to both these positions by Governor Culbert L. Olson. He had been appointed to the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles October 14, 1941. He admitted that he had no experience with penology before accepting this appointment.

He presented a picture of a kindly gentleman, befuddled and confused; caught in a morass of plotting and intrigue. The weakness and flimsiness of his own position fluttered through his testimony from time to time like loose papers caught in a wind. It was apparent to the mem-

bers of the committee that Goodman was continually fitting arguments and fictions to the board's decision in the case, rather than applying the facts to the decision. He stated that he had voted for the parole of King, Ramsay and Conner after a prolonged study of the case. George Wallace had not been paroled because, stated Mr. Goodman, George Wallace had fled the scene of the crime and, therefore, was *more apt* to be guilty than King, Ramsay and Conner, who had remained in San Francisco or its environs. Goodman recognized the public interest in the matter and had heard it said that the case against the men was a "frame-up." His examination of the testimony had revealed conflicting evidence to him. He wondered why Murphy, who had helped Wallace and Sakovitz escape, had never been prosecuted. He considered this "reprehensible conduct" and therefore was inclined to disregard *Murphy's* testimony.

At one point in his testimony Goodman stated that he was not claiming that the men were not properly convicted although he had so indicated at another point. He believed that the men had started out to commit a simple assault, and therefore should not have been held responsible for the murder of the Chief Engineer of the *Point Lobos*. He did not recall Matthew Guidera's testimony in reference to the plot to "get" Alberts when the *Point Lobos* was on its way up the West Coast.

Goodman disclaimed any knowledge of Communist pressure for the pardon or parole of King, Ramsay and Conner. He emphatically denied that Governor Olson had ever discussed the case with him. He knew of no pressure on the Governor for the pardon or parole of the convicts. Although, in the beginning of his examination Goodman had stated that he had been appointed to the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles on October 14, 1941, he became confused later in his testimony and stated that he had been chairman of the board for 18 months.

He believed that the prison records of King, Ramsay and Conner were good. He believed that their past records were good. He stated that George Wallace had a record of previous arrests and that his testimony and statements conflicted on occasion. He did not believe in a "spirit of revenge" in penology and personally believed that the continued incarceration of King, Ramsay and Conner belonged to that category. He did not believe that the murder of George Alberts could be properly termed "cold-blooded." He distinguished between men who struck blows and men who planned such an assault, although he believed the evidence in this case did not show any "planning." He later admitted that there was evidence of a plan to have Alberts "beat up." Under examination, he later admitted that Conner and Ramsay did have previous records of arrests, bail-forfeitures, et cetera, as well as George Wallace. He reasoned that if convicts such as King, Conner and Ramsay were held in prison unnecessarily they might become martyrs. He believed that a man like Earl King had been punished sufficiently by the time served because he had not planned to murder the chief engineer. He concluded his testimony by stating that he did not read or pay any attention to the mass of letters, telegrams and communications which had poured into Mark Noon's office in San Quentin, urging the release of King, Ramsay and Conner.

Mr. J. H. Stephens, veteran member of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, testified at length concerning the efforts made to parole the men. (Volume V, pp. 1471-1494.) He stated that Warden Clinton Duffy of San Quentin Prison took exception to the members of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles in making investigations of prisoners coming up for parole. He stated that this had been the procedure followed by members of the board for many years. In spite of Warden Duffy's objections, Stephens investigated the King, Conner, Ramsay case. He ascertained where each prisoner was working in the penitentiary, and learned that King had been working on the waterfront and sleeping outside of the prison. Ramsay was also working on the waterfront and Conner was a sweeper in one of the cell blocks. King was operating a donkey engine, as was Ramsay, and both prisoners had ample opportunity to contact people on incoming boats.

Stephens stated that King, Ramsay and Conner first came before the board after serving approximately two years. At that time, John Gee Clark was the chairman of the board and desired to parole the men. Mr. Escola, third member of the board at that time, felt that the men should receive a minimum of 20 years. Escola and Stephens voted for a 20-year sentence and Clark, the chairman of the board, voted "no." The minimum time to be served under a 20-year sentence would be 12 years and 8 months.

Stephens told of the \$10,000 bribe offered to Archie Lyons, present member of the board, to vote for the parole of the convicts. After Paul Yarrimain, the man accused by Lyons of offering the bribe, was acquitted, and after Booth Goodman had been appointed to the board, the case was again brought up and Lyons voted for the parole of the men. Stephens stated that they had served only four years and seven months. He stated that Lyons and Goodman denied Wallace a parole "because he had a former record," and that this procedure was contrary to the action of the board for a period covering some 10 or 11 years. Stephens also stated that King and Ramsay had been released from San Quentin without the usual investigation concerning jobs, places to live, and other important matters. The parole officers had announced that "some one had telephoned" who said that the men would be given jobs.

#### MENTAL CONDITIONS OF MEN

The committee was interested in learning the mental and physical condition of King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace. It had been stated that Wallace was mentally inferior to the other three, although it was known at the time of the hearing that Conner was being hospitalized in San Francisco. For this purpose the committee examined two of San Quentin's physicians.

Dr. Leo L. Stanley has been a physician at San Quentin for some 28 years. He had examined George Wallace and was acquainted with his physical and mental condition. (Volume VII, pp. 2067-2071.) He stated that Wallace had shown a pronounced "anxiety neurosis" at a time when he had refused to see George Andersen, attorney for the Communist Party of California, Herbert Resner, attorney for Conner and another chap by the name of Karse, on January 16, 1939.

Dr. Stanley also testified that Wallace had been struck by an inmate of the prison, on October 15, 1940, by name of Daban.

Dr. David G. Schmidt is the Chief Psychiatrist at San Quentin Penitentiary. (Volume VII, pp. 2045-2067.) The usual procedure with prisoners was followed in the case of Earl King, Ernest G. Ramsay, Frank Conner and George Wallace when they entered San Quentin Prison. Dr. Schmidt made the entry examination and his subsequent contact with prisoners is at such times as they are confined in the prison hospital or when their mental conditions seem to warrant a further examination. He also has an opportunity to examine prisoners when disciplinary problems arise in relation to them. It is the duty of the chief psychiatrist to make a check on the prisoners when they are scheduled to appear before the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles.

He testified that Wallace was not mentally active, that he had an inferiority complex and that his intelligence was retarded. Wallace had been hospitalized in 1937 suffering with an "anxiety neurosis." He appeared to have "vague delusions" of persecution and believed that he was being framed by Communists. The doctor stated that Wallace had told him that the Communists were interested in King, Ramsay and Conner but that they were not interested in him; that they wanted to injure him and were keeping him in San Quentin. The doctor stated that worry over the Communist situation appeared to be the chief cause of Wallace's "instability." He admitted that "an average man" would, in all probability, crack up in the same way under the same circumstances. He believed that the fact that Wallace has received poorer treatment than those he helped to convict has tended to "retard" him.

The doctor stated that Wallace is in dread fear of bodily harm from the prison inmates and believes they are influenced by Communists. (The prison records show that Wallace was hospitalized for a wound inflicted by an inmate by name of Daban (No. 60,069) whom Wallace accused of once being a bodyguard for Harry Bridges.)

Frank Conner, in contrast to George Wallace, according to Dr. Schmidt, is "emotionally unstable," which is to be distinguished from "mentally unstable." The doctor said that Conner felt as though he had been used as a "cat's paw" in the case. Doctor Schmidt stated he believed Wallace and Conner were not equal in responsibility; that Conner was of a very simple mind, but a thoroughly satisfactory worker, while Wallace was of marked "mental instability" and therefore not reliable.

It should be stated here that Dr. Schmidt had once classified Conner as a "moron" in the prison records, and although the questions of your committee were directed toward bringing out this point, Dr. Schmidt appeared to evade the issue.

#### JOHN MUSTAK

John Mustak, a prisoner in San Quentin Penitentiary, was called before the committee at the request of George Wallace. He stated that he had been doing undercover work for the *American Legion*, connected with Post 347 of this organization, located on Mission Street in San Francisco. He stated that he reported his undercover work directly to Stanley (Larry) Doyle and Harper Knowles and that they

had picked him for this work because of his experience in the Military Intelligence during the World War. In connection with the work, he became acquainted with Earl King, whom he met at the Terminal Hotel in San Francisco in 1931, and again at the Communist Party State Headquarters in the latter part of 1935. He also knew Ernest G. Ramsay, Frank Conner and George Wallace. His activities in connection with his work for Doyle and Knowles was to investigate Communism. He joined the Longshoremen's Union and was sent to San Pedro.

Lawrence Ross, a Communist functionary and the Editor of the *Western Worker*, selected Mustak as the Communist Party member to help in sabotaging the Merchant Marine. Ross introduced Mustak to Harry Bridges and Earl King and was told to take his orders from them. He stated that Earl King was introduced to him as "Comrade" and as a member of the Communist Party. Mustak had taken the name of "Merich" in the Communist Party and had turned his Communist Party book over to Knowles. In the Communist Party meetings he attended, he heard the names of Ramsay and Conner from time to time as accepted members of the Communist Party, but stated that he had no personal knowledge of their membership.

He stated that he believed the Communist Party "smelled a rat" along toward the last of his activities. Although he had fooled them for some nine months, he stated that they finally kidnaped him and marched him at the point of two guns to the office of George Andersen, the attorney for the Communist Party of California. He did not prosecute his kidnapers on advice of the *American Legion*. Although he believed that the Communist Party suspected the true role he was playing, nothing was done about it at the time. He believes, however, that they laid the trap into which he ultimately fell and for which he is now serving time in San Quentin.

In July of 1939 plans were laid to hold up a grocery store in San Pedro in order to raise funds for the Harry Bridges Defense Committee. Mustak stated that the grocer was supposed to be in collusion with the plan and that the money was to be turned over to the men without a struggle for the use of the Communist Party in its defense of Harry Bridges. The grocer was to be reimbursed by the Insurance Company. Mustak stated that he was assigned by the Communist Party to participate in the holdup and that other Communist Party members drove him to the scene of the robbery and left him there alone. Following instructions, Mustak took \$1,600 from the grocer, was arrested and charged with the robbery and convicted.

He stated that Knowles and Doyle failed to come to his rescue and that he was advised to protect the *American Legion* and "take the rap." He had never been convicted of any crime before. He concluded his testimony by submitting letters from Harper Knowles of the *American Legion* and the Chief Investigator of the La Follette Committee.

#### GEORGE WALLACE

George Wallace seems to be the forgotten man in the King, Ramsay, Conner case. He is still in prison. Certainly, if King, Ramsay and Conner deserved to be paroled, so did George Wallace. The committee

examined the previous records of all four men and reports that Wallace's record was no worse, in any respect, than the others. We saw and questioned him at San Quentin Penitentiary December 6, 1941. (Volume VII, pp. 2099-2112, 2114-2128.) We believe that he has real cause to be in fear of bodily harm from members of the Communist Party, regardless of Dr. Schmidt's estimation of his mental condition. We believe that there is a real reason, and not an imaginary one, for his "anxiety neurosis."

Wallace first met "Wimpy" Ben Sakovitz in January of 1936 at the Union Hall of the *Marine Firemen*. Wimpy told Wallace that he was a member of the Communist Party. After the murder of George Alberts, Wimpy induced Wallace to accompany him to New York to see Roy Hudson. Earl King also told Wallace and Sakovitz to see Hudson in New York City. Wallace stated that he went to New York with Sakovitz and there met Roy Hudson. Wallace stated that Hudson would do nothing for them and referred them back to Harry Bridges in San Francisco. This occurred about one month after the *Point Lobos* murder. Hudson gave Sakovitz some money and Wallace and Sakovitz parted. Wallace subsequently returned to San Francisco.

Harry Bridges paid Wallace a visit in San Quentin Prison and Wallace stated that Bridges told him that as long as he was against Communism and Communists that Bridges would see to it that the Communists in San Quentin Prison "undermined" him. Wallace feels that the Communists in the prison have followed these instructions. He believes that Earl King exerts considerable influence over the party members within the prison walls. He stated that his life had been threatened because he refused to subscribe to the *People's Daily World* and other Communist Party publications which, he claimed, are circulated within the walls of the Prison. Herbert Resner had called to visit him but he had refused to see him. He stated that George E. Bodle, an attorney, wrote to him expressing an interest in his case. Miriam Dinkin, of the King, Conner, Ramsay Defense Committee, came to see him. He stated that Miss Dinkin "used to hang out here" and that she was very popular and had dinners at the prison. When Miriam Dinkin came to see him she tried to induce him to accept her judgment in the selection of an attorney but he refused. He stated that he told her that he was not a Communist and never would be.

George Bodle testified before the committee (Volume IX, pp. 2799-2808) in Los Angeles, February 24, 1942. He stated that Wallace had communicated with him. He went to San Quentin to see Wallace but never represented him. He stated that he had no connection with the King, Ramsay, Conner Defense Committee.

At the time of his trial, Wallace stated, a Robert Cole offered to secure an attorney for him if he would place his entire case entirely in the hands of the attorney selected. Wallace refused to accept this offer saying that he believed the attorney selected by these people would sell him out. Robert Cole offered to spend \$5,000 for an attorney for Wallace, but did not offer him the money. Cole stated that the *Marine Firemen* would raise the money. Wallace did not know that Robert Cole was a member of the Communist Party.

Rena M. Vale, former member of the Communist Party, (Volume VII, pp. 2112-2114) testified that she knew Robert Cole as a member of

the Communist Party in Los Angeles in 1938. She stated that his real name was "Cohn" and that he was the organizer of the Professional Section of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. He was known by both names, although he had asked the Communist Party to drop his real name because he did not want to involve his family.

Testifying regarding his previous record, Wallace stated that he had never been convicted of any crime prior to his conviction in this case. He had waited four months in a county jail in New York for trial on a misdemeanor charge but was released.

He told the committee of being attacked by a man by the name of Daban in the Prison.

He concluded his testimony by presenting a sheaf of letters written and received by him during the time that he had been in the penitentiary. He stated that he felt that he had been discriminated against by both the prison authorities and the parole board. He concluded by stating:

"I referred a question to the last record of this board—referring to this; I was an American citizen, and came into this board, and I respected justice; but I did not get justice; I did not have any Communist influence; and I still have in my mind—that's the reason I didn't get no break, which I deserve."

#### CONCLUSION

All of the testimony taken by the committee in reference to the King, Ramsay, Conner case, together with the uncontroverted and established facts of the case, brings the committee to the conclusion that the murder of Chief Engineer George Alberts on the *Point Lobos* was Communist inspired and planned. At least King and Sakovitz were members of the Communist Party. Wallace was merely a tool used by the others. Conner, undoubtedly, was under the influence of King and the group with whom he worked and was possibly friendly to the Communist element on the waterfront. There is no doubt of the guilt of all four men. Both Conner and Wallace confessed, although Conner later attempted to repudiate his testimony. The logic of the law governing such cases is hard to attack and possibly has never been attacked heretofore in the many, many similar cases scattered throughout California's high court decisions. So that the record is complete in this instance, we quote from *the opinion of the appellate court*, 30 Cal. App. (2d) 185 (85 Pac. (2d) 937):

"In the present case there is presented no question of death resulting from the commission of a simple assault or occurring in the commission of a misdemeanor. There is here a death resulting from the use of a deadly weapon which the appellants say they never intended. Such weapon was, however, actually used, and by one who joined with them in the plan to beat up the deceased, which plan they counseled. The question is whether the use of such a deadly weapon upon the person of Alberts and his resulting death was a natural or probable consequence of the plan or agreement among the actual assail-

ants and for which the appellants may be held liable, two of them, Ramsay and King, not being present.

The character of the plan is of great importance. Here, several men set out to beat up another. In the words of King, he 'sent them over to tamp the chief.' Preparations were made for trouble. It was known that he was vigorous and strong. One, at least, prior to setting out on the expenditure, equipped himself with a bludgeon. At the scene of the expected trouble others were asked to stand by. Not being able to get at the victim the first day, the majority returned the second day and proceeded to the victim's place of abode aboard ship. They prepared and were prepared, to meet force with force and to overcome resistance at any cost. The natural and probable consequence of such an undertaking is homicide, and the homicide here committed by one of the conspirators is nothing less than murder. All who combined to commit the unlawful act of violence are equally guilty. The law makes no distinction between them and each is responsible for the act of any other of the party in the prosecution of the original design. All joining in the enterprise are as guilty of murder as the person who actually caused the death."

The participation in the case of Lawrence Ross, Communist Party functionary and the Editor of the *Western Worker*, should leave little doubt in the mind of anyone regarding the design of the Communist Party to make the King, Ramsay, Conner case a celebrated one. The cry of "frame-up" on the part of Communist publications re-echoed only in those labor organizations controlled and dominated by Communist Party fractions and expanded "progressive" caucuses. Communist pressure and influence was strong enough to find its way into the State Government of California. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of your committee but that this pressure was exerted on the Chief Executive of this State. The committee concludes that King, Ramsay and Conner are free today merely because the Communist Party had obtained great influence in the political arena of the State of California. George Wallace is still in San Quentin because he refused to program with the Communist Party.

## PART III

### SINARQUISTAS

Since the middle of 1941, your committee and its representatives have been gathering information in reference to the so-called *Sinarquist* movement in Mexico and its spread into the southwestern part of the United States, including California. During December of 1942 the public became acquainted with this organization through the efforts of the Communists. The investigation of the *Sinarquist* and its leaders and members in California is continuing but, at the writing of this report, the committee has not come to specific conclusions concerning it. Data received from Mexico has not been sufficiently checked for obvious reasons. The leaders and members of the movement in California have not yet been subpoenaed and examined. Because of the anti-Communist character of the *Sinarquist* movement, the Communist press has vigorously and viciously attacked it. The methods of the Communists in attacking every movement that is anti-Communist is well known and the subject of such attacks are to be given reasonable doubt in the beginning of any investigation. These attacks, however, can not be ignored in view of the present world conflict and the present needs of Soviet Russia. Anti-Communist movements, unchecked, uncontrolled and in irresponsible hands gravitate rapidly into Fascist organizations. If history has taught us anything during the last decade, it has taught us this. Mussolini's Black Shirts were anti-Communist and Hitler's crusade in Germany was directed against the Communists. Just as the Socialism of Karl Marx seems to demand a dictator and a ruthless totalitarian government for its progress and achievement, anti-Communist movements likewise, wittingly or unwittingly, move toward a totalitarian dictatorship for the crushing of Communism.

#### BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

Your committee is in possession of several confidential reports on the history of *Sinarquism* in Mexico, its origin, leaders and objectives. The committee is also in possession of some of the publications of the movement, both in Mexico and in the southwestern United States and California. Communist Party publications containing articles on Mexico's *Sinarquists* and reports in general on the activities of the organization, have been carefully examined and checked as far as possible. Many of the Communist articles are obviously vehicles for subtle libel of the Catholic Church.

Certain facts appear to be well established. The leader of the *Sinarquismo* in Mexico is Salvador Abascal. He is reported to be a man about 32 years of age. He is a lawyer and was a district judge in a village in the State of Guerrero.

In 1936 a German engineer by the name of Oscar Schreiter, teaching at a college in the State of Guanajuato, is reported to have organized a movement called the *Centro Anti-Communista*. Abascal and two of

his lawyer friends, Manuel Zeremeno and Jose Urquiza, joined Schreiter's *Centro Anti-Communista*. In 1937 *Centro Anti-Communista* became the *Union Nacional Sinarchista*. Jose Urquiza became the first Chief—*El Jefe*. It is reported that Urquiza was killed in a running gun-battle with a government man. Manuel Zeremeno succeeded Urquiza and Abascal finally succeeded Zeremeno August 15, 1940.

As far back as the Summer of 1941, the Communist press in the United States asserted that the *Sinarquist* movement was being financed by the Nazis. The German origin of the movement appears to lend some authority to this statement. The articles of incorporation of the *Centro Anti-Communista* under the laws of the State of Guanajuato was signed by Oscar Hellnudh Schreiter, Adolfo Maldonado and Isaac Guzman Valdivia. Otto Gilpert and Friedrich Heim are reported to have assisted Schreiter, in establishing the *Centro Anti-Communista*.

The organization is reported to have been semi-military from its inception. The Communist press charges that the military instructor of the organization in Mexico is a Spaniard, a member of the *Falange*, by the name of Bilbao. The *Sinarquist* uniform is described as very similar to the one worn by Nazi storm-troopers. An armband worn on the left sleeve of the uniform is said to be red bearing a white circle in which is contained a green map of the country of Mexico. The flag of the organization is said to be a red banner with a white circle, also containing the green map of Mexico. The salute of the *Sinarquistas* is made by crossing the left arm diagonally over the chest.

The *Sinarquistas* in Mexico are reported as proclaiming: "Our leader is chosen by God; this is the keystone of our unity and discipline." The official organ of the movement, *El Sinarquista*, in its issue of November 7, 1940, declares: "The *Sinarquists* carry firmly engraved this truth because it is the cornerstone of our unity and of our discipline: the *Jefe* is imposed by God."

The proof of the Fascist tendencies of the *Sinarquistas* is expressed in *El Sinarquista* for September 28, 1939: "The members of the same trade or professions unite, constituting corporative groups. Above these professional groups or corporations there must exist a superior power charged with ordering their mutual relations and direct them to the good of the collectivity." Similar professional corporations must unite among themselves and must submit to a supreme authority which is incorporated in the political structure of the Nation." Certainly, there is a close similarity in this language of *Sinarquism* with Mussolini's *corporate State*.

Authoritarianism is indicated in the following, from *El Sinarquista* of June 18, 1940: "Among ourselves we do not discuss about what to do with our strength. Take away our discipline, take away our loyalty to the *Jefe*, and *Sinarquism* is nothing."

#### SINARQUISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND CALIFORNIA

Your committee has secured a list of the members of the *Sinarquistas* in southern California together with the names and addresses of its leaders and officers. We have learned that the organization contains branches at San Fernando, Oxnard, San Bernardino, Ontario, Azusa,

Pomona, La Verne, Pacoima, and Watts. The general membership is apparently made up of middle-class Mexicans. Some of the principles of the movement, examined by the committee and its representatives, appear contradictory, and, therefore, demagogic. The movement ostensibly stands for religious freedom and the right of religious worship and is frankly anti-Communistic.

The Communist press carried quotations from *El Sinarquista* of October 16, 1941, indicating *Sinarquist* activities in California. We quote from *El Sinarquista* as reproduced in the *Daily Worker* of November 24, 1941:

**"Noticias de Toda la Republica"**

"United States—California—Los Angeles. For 10 days Felite Navarro visited the *Sinarquist* centers which function in this region, which less than 100 years ago formed part of the Mexican Republic. He reports: September 21, meeting of the chiefs. Participating: Pedro B. Villasenor, Regional Chief Los Angeles; Porfirio Rivera, Regional Chief of Northern California; the members of the Regional Committee of Los Angeles and the municipal chief of the region. Rivera, Villasenor and Navarro spoke, explaining the extent of the colonization work of Baja, California. A plan of work laid out. *Sinarquist* song.

"San Fernando, September 22. Consecration of the flag. Regional chiefs and Navarro speaking. Local Chief Jose Macias received them. Oath of loyalty. Showing of movies. Enormous rejoicing. Confidence, faith and love. Rivera, Arroyo and Navarro left for the north. They slept briefly at Bakersfield and continued to \_\_\_\_\_. \*

"Fresno, September 23. Meeting in the house of Chief Piedad Atilano. *Sinarquists* from various places participated. Great soldiers. Movies. Songs. September 24, run to San Francisco by way of Pittsburg and Antioch. Preparations of meetings at these places and return to Antioch this week. \* \* \*

"Bakersfield, September 26. Fiery morning. Magnificent group like all those of California. Children have a disciplined group. All hearts desire the *Sinarquist* fatherland. September 27. Invitation to speak at the party for Iturbide, organized by the Mexican colony. Triumph. Showing of movies. *Sinarquist* song.

"Los Angeles, September 28. *Sinarquist* concentration. Chief and soldiers of the entire region are present. Women, who fight for Mexico. Everything to work for a *Sinarquist* Mexico. Fight for it from there. Iturbide is being exalted. Vivas to Mexico, filled with praise. Mexico ardently palpitates in all those men. Affectionate salutations for Chief Abascal. And for all the *Sinarquists*. Mexico will save herself!

"The Fatherland is joyful over its good sons who fight for it from the other side of the frontier. *Viva Mexico!*"

In April of 1942 the Vichy Government announced that Jacques Leroy-Ladurie, Chief of the French *Sinarquistas* had been appointed to the Cabinet of Pierre Laval.

The above facts, out of a morass of propaganda, Communist Party venom and confidential reports, investigations and checks possible in California, together with the examination and translations from the *Sinarquist* publication available, definitely bring this organization within the jurisdiction of the committee.

#### "ZOOT-SUIT" CRIMES IN LOS ANGELES

The Communist Party press and its members began an intensive agitation against the *Sinarquistas* in Los Angeles in the Fall of 1942. A number of Mexican boys had been arrested and charged with various crimes, including murder, and because of their peculiar manner of dressing, became known as the "Zoot-Suit Gang." This appellation was suggested by the style of dress effected by certain of the Mexican colony's boys and some of the Negroes in the eastern part of the City of Los Angeles. It consists, generally, of more or less baggy trousers, drawn tightly and cuffed at the ankles. When coats are worn they are of an extremely long cut, closely fitted at the hips and reaching in many extreme cases to the knees. A pomaded hair dress with the hair grown long and brushed toward the back forms what has become known as the "duck tail" hairdress.

The first publications of any consequence regarding the Mexican situation in Los Angeles consisted in a series of articles run in the *People's Daily World*, Communist West Coast publication, signed by Tom Cullen. The first of these articles appeared in the issue of October 3, 1942. Cullen quotes Guy T. Nunn as stating that the *Sinarquista*'s principal weapon against Democracy "is to discourage all war efforts in every way. Their seeds are sown in fertile soil among the boys and girls brought up on the east side of Los Angeles." Guy T. Nunn is an employee of the War Production Board in the Minorities Division.

In the issue of the *People's Daily World* for October 5, 1942, Carey McWilliams is reported to have stated that the Mexican boy gangs are the result of an economic situation and he accuses police officers of attaching razor blades to sticks for the purpose of ripping the peg-top trousers and "zoot-suit" coats off the Mexican boys. In the issue of October 8, 1942, Tom Cullen cites newspaper articles and statements by certain individuals charging Fascist influence on the Mexican youth of Los Angeles County. In the issue of October 14, 1942, Cullen charges that the fifth column of Fascism is working among the Mexican population, egging on the Mexican youth. In the October 20, 1942, issue of the Communist paper Mrs. La Rue McCormick labels Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney as a "Fascist" and urges the purging of Nazi agents whom she asserts are operating in the Los Angeles Mexican community and inciting racial antagonism. In the issue of the same paper for October 22, 1942, Tom Cullen states that Mrs. La Rue McCormick is engaged in investigating the *Sinarquistas* as the central point in her campaign for State Senator.

The following chronology of agitation is taken from the columns of the *People's Daily World*. (The date of issue is appended in parenthesis.)

La Rue McCormick is reported as stating that Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney is attempting to blow down the Fascist fifth column working among the Mexican boys of Los Angeles County. Mrs. McCormick initiated a committee of 14 to defend Mexican youth and to expose the fifth column elements using the Mexican boys as dupes. Mrs. McCormick was elected secretary of the committee, representing the *Spanish-Speaking People's Congress*. (October 24, 1942.) On October 26, 1942, Philip M. Connelly is reported as stating that "Crime waves are turned on and off by newspapers like water in a spigot and when the city editor is short of news he orders police reporters to round up attack cases and if the sheriff's office is not deliberately participating in the fraud, it is being duped." On October 28, 1942, Philip M. Connelly, Leo Gallagher, Carey McWilliams, La Rue McCormick, Jesse L. Terry, George Shibley and Mart Cazares are reported making a call on the District Attorney of Los Angeles County charging that the district attorney's office is prejudicing the rights of the Mexicans on trial. This delegation requested the district attorney to permit the "zoot-suit" boys to get their hair cut and to tidy themselves up while on trial. About the same time Congressman Vito Marcantonio is reported as having sent a wire to Mrs. La Rue McCormick, stating that the *Sinarquistas* are responsible for the situation and are undermining the morale of America. On November 2, 1942, Mrs. La Rue McCormick is reported as quoting a Mexican attorney regarding the outbreak in Los Angeles County, comparing it with a similar outbreak in Mexico among Mexican youth: "The fault lies, not with the Mexican boys but with the fifth column working in our midst."

The issue of the *People's Daily World* for November 17, 1942, carries a picture showing Mexican youths in the office of the *California Eagle*, Los Angeles Negro newspaper, writing a letter to Vice President Wallace, contending that they have no playground to play on. Ed Robbin, Communist commentator, is reported on November 19, 1942, quoting an article by Clem Peoples, of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office. Robbin claimed that the Mexican youth is being terrorized by police and the sheriff's office.

On November 30, 1942, the *People's Daily World* reports a committee appointed by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors to investigate the Mexican youth problems. Monsignor Thomas J. O'Dwyer is reported as the chairman of the committee.

On December 4, 1942, Orson Welles, John Bright, Guy T. Nunn, Carey McWilliams, and others are reported as holding a meeting on behalf of the Mexican youth. Guy T. Nunn is reported as stating that unless the Mexican boys now on trial are given a fair trial that this case will set back the entire work of the War Man Power Commission on Minorities.

The issue of the *People's Daily World* for December 10, 1942, indicates a change in the Communist Party line. This and subsequent issues indicate a new line of attack, claiming that the cause of the disturbances among Mexican youth is because of discrimination against minority groups. The *Sinarquista* attack appeared to have been abandoned for the moment.

On October 23, 1942, an article appeared in the *Tidings* under the title "Public Mass Meetings to Be Called in Challenge to Red Anti-Sinarquistas in Los Angeles." The entire article follows:

"Los Angeles, October 26—

"Plans for a series of public mass meetings which will inform the American public of the true character of the organization known as *Sinarquistas* and refute the charges made by Communists, communist newspapers and fellow travelers that crimes committed by youth gangs in the east side of Los Angeles are the result of *Sinarquista* influence have been made by executive leaders of the Catholic Industrial Conference.

"The Industrial Conference, organized here early this year under the leadership of Mr. Thomas O'Dwyer of the Catholic Charities Bureau, has aims which are similar in scope to those of the *Sinarquistas* in Mexico, who seek social justice in the Christian manner and are striving to stem the spread of communistic influence there. The *Sinarquistas* is a purely lay organization, whose name translated means "without anarchism."

"Impetus to a smear campaign by which the Communists seek to link the *Sinarquistas* with first the *Falangists* of Spain and then with Fascism and Nazism was given in a series of articles in the *People's World*, Communist daily newspaper published in San Francisco and Los Angeles, which quoted Guy T. Nunn, an official of the United States War Manpower Commission for the minority groups, with offices in Los Angeles, as a principal authority for its charges. These were followed by the importation from Mexico of an alleged anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi leader, who, while not speaking English, was reported in the *Los Angeles Times* to have for his purpose the organization of meetings and groups that would seek to curb *Sinarquism* here. He was introduced locally by Communist leaders.

"The charges made by Mr. Nunn were emphatically denied by Rev. Manuel Canseco of the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, who, while not a member of the *Sinarquistas* responded to an appeal of *La Opinion*, Spanish language daily newspaper, to vindicate the Spanish-speaking Catholics.

"Mr. Nunn's original statements were published in the *Los Angeles Herald Express* and widely republished by newspaper wire services.

"When interviewed he first maintained that he was misquoted but when asked for a correct statement of his charges averred that he did not want to engage in any newspaper controversy.

"Subsequently Nunn declared that in making his original charges he was under the impression that he was talking with a publicity representative of the government, explaining that the Manpower Commission had only

recently moved into its offices, and he was not familiar with his surroundings or the personnel.

"This allegation was scoffed at by the *Herald Express*.

"That the Communistic leaders and the Communist newspapers should seek to smear the *Sinarquistas* and discredit them as American citizens and in Mexico is evidence of chagrin and humiliation they have felt and still feel over their unsuccessful attempts to invade Spain and their defeat at the hands of General Franco.

"Their present line is apparently to seek to delude the public into the belief that those who opposed them in Spain and who oppose their efforts in Mexico are enemies of the United States war effort.

"First plans for the mass meetings in which the Catholic Industrial Conference will seek to meet these attacks were made last week.

"'We will seek,' said a spokesman for the organization, 'to provide every public opportunity for any person, government official or otherwise, to prove any charges made. We will call upon all public officials of Los Angeles County and of the State to take cognizance of these charges and if they cannot be proved will request that these persons and newspapers responsible for them publicly to repudiate them as in decency they should.'"

In view of the agitation raised as quoted above your committee decided to hold a hearing on the matter December 16, 1942. Resolutions had been passed by the C. I. O. Council in Los Angeles demanding an immediate investigation of the situation. It was not felt that subpoenas were necessary in this case, in view of the demand for the investigation. The chairman of the committee, therefore, invited Mrs. La Rue McCormick, John Bright, Josephine de Bright, Oscar Fuss, Philip M. Connelly and Guy T. Nunn to testify. The committee met in the State Building in Los Angeles at 10 o'clock in the morning, December 16, 1942. Not a single individual invited put in an appearance. The letter of invitation sent to each of the above-named persons, is as follows:

"It has been called to the attention of the Fact-Finding Committee Investigating Un-American Activities in California, that you have recently demanded an investigation of an organization known as the *Sinarquistas*. It is further publicly reported that you have alleged that the recent gang disturbances by Mexican youths in the County of Los Angeles have been instigated and fomented by this organization. It is further reported that you have publicly declared that the so-called *Sinarquistas* movement is in fact 'an Axis fifth column in our midst, undermining the morale of American-Mexican boys charged with murder, and the recent arrest of nearly 200 Mexican youths on felony charges have been stage-managed by Hitler's fifth column.'

"If you have any information or evidence to substantiate these or similar charges, the Assembly Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California is most anxious to receive same. Therefore, the committee is inviting you to appear before it in Room 706 of the State Building, located at First and Broadway in the City of Los Angeles, at the hour of 10 a.m., Wednesday, December 16, 1942, and there lay before it such information and evidence as may be in your possession. The committee is not issuing subpoenas at this time on this matter, feeling that your responsibility to your State and Nation in this critical time will be all sufficient for the assurance of your prompt appearance."

The above-named individuals sent telegrams and letters stating in substance that they were not accepting the committee's invitation because it was "understood" all information had been turned over to Federal agencies, and that the OWI (Office of War Information) believed publicity attending the hearing would be inadvisable. Philip M. Connelly wired in detail:

"I understand all available evidence regarding *Sinarquistas* activities is now in hands of Federal agencies also that the FBI is conducting official inquiry therefore I believe it inadvisable and possibly dangerous to war effort to respond to your invitation to participate in public hearing on same subject matter further understand OWI feels hearing such as you propose is inadvisable I agree with this view believing that *Sinarquistas* and other Fascist elements might well utilize publicity attended to your proposed hearing to stir up additional unrest and create new strain in relation between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans who must be thoroughly united in order to effectively win war."

Although Guy T. Nunn of the War Manpower Commission was appearing at meetings throughout the County of Los Angeles in reference to the Mexican youth situation and was reported to have been making statements concerning the situation, he wrote the committee that he had been instructed by the chief of his agency that it would be inadvisable for him to accept the committee's invitation. A motion was then passed by the committee for the issuance of subpoenas for Mrs. La Rue McCormick, John Bright, Josephine Fierro de Bright, Oscar Fuss, Philip Connelly, Guy T. Nunn and such other people as might be necessary, and the committee continued the meeting until December 19, 1942, at the hour of 10 a.m. in the State Building.

Pursuant to the order of the committee, all of the above-named individuals were subpoenaed for the December 19, 1942, hearing. In addition, a number of the officers of the *Sinarquistas* in Los Angeles County were subpoenaed. The representatives of the committee were only able

to serve Philip M. Connelly, Oscar Fuss and Mrs. La Rue McCormick. Prior to the hearing the committee issued the following press release:

"The Mexican people and Americans of Mexican origin are not under investigation by the committee investigating un-American activities in California. So that there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone, the committee wishes to emphatically state its position in this regard. Mexico and the United States are allies in this present world struggle and the members of the committee investigating subversive activities hold Mexico, its people, its government and the Americans of Mexican origin in our community, in the highest esteem and with the greatest affection. No doubt of the loyalty of the Mexicans or Mexican-Americans exists in the minds of anyone acquainted with these splendid people.

"It is rather significant that the agitation and turmoil, heard for the past several months in Southern California, has been raised by American Communists and close fellow travelers. It is this group that has continuously demanded an investigation of the so-called *Sinarquista* movement, alleging that recent disturbances among Mexican-American youth in Los Angeles are the result of the *Sinarquistas*. This same group, headed by a known Communist, La Rue McCormick, has continuously alleged that the *Sinarquistas* are dominated by, linked with, financed and stage-managed by Hitler's Nazis. It is further significant that this same group refused to testify voluntarily before the committee last Wednesday, when invited by the committee to do so, and as an excuse for failure to testify, attempted to hide behind the FBI and OWI (Office of War Information), on ground that a public hearing might strain American-Mexican relations.

"Recent articles in the public press quote outstanding citizens, whose patriotism can not be questioned as charging that American Communists are attacking the *Sinarquista* movement solely because of its anti-Communist character. Some of these leading Americans have stated that the *Sinarquista* movement is one that merely seeks social justice and strives to weaken Communistic influence.

"The Fact-Finding Committee on un-American Activities in California is therefore interested in but one phase of this matter. We are desirous of learning:

"(1) Is the *Sinarquista* connected with, dominated, controlled or directed, in any way, by Hitler or his fifth column in this hemisphere, or

"(2) Is all the hullabaloo and shouting merely another smear campaign raised by American Communists for their own sinister purposes?

"Our neighbors and allies, the Mexican people, both here at home and below the Rio Grande, are just as much concerned with this question as are the loyal and patriotic

American citizens of California and the United States. The Fact-Finding Committee on un-American Activities in California intends to determine the facts."

The committee met in executive session and Mrs. La Rue McCormick was the first witness called. The Communist Party background and activities of Mrs. McCormick were read into the record. (Volume XIV.)

Mrs. McCormick proved to be a very hostile and non-cooperative witness. Her memory was vague on most Communist matters and, although she admitted having made similar statements to those quoted in the *People's Daily World*, her recollection of them was very inaccurate. She believed most of her statements to be true, but could not give the committee factual bases for any of them. The following is typical of Mrs. McCormick's testimony on the *Sinarquista* matter (Volume XIV, pp. 3744-3745):

"Q. Well, we have some disturbances here among the Mexican youth and people are killed or injured, and Mexican youths are arrested and then you state that you believe that those activities are the result of a fifth column. Is that just your opinion?

"A. (Mrs. McCormick) I think that is stating it a little wrongly.

"Q. I don't want to put words into your mouth; you state it.

"A. (Mrs. McCormick) I might state this: I think such things are being utilized by the fifth column in order to convince the Mexican people that the abuses and injustices from which, I think, they have suffered for many years here, should cause them to withdraw from any participation in the war effort and I think also that there are many instances in which they are able to utilize such as the mass arrests of Mexican youth in order to prove to them the American people are not sincere in their desire to have Pan-American unity.

"Q. Well, have you any information with reference to any individuals who have been carrying on that type of work?

"A. (Mrs. McCormick) No, I don't.

"Q. Then your entire approach to the matter is clearly one of your own inner conviction or thought and belief in the matter?

"A. (Mrs. McCormick) That is right.

"Q. Rather than any factual information that you might be able to base it on?

"A. (Mrs. McCormick) That is right."

"Q. \* \* \* but a citizen who makes a statement as to a certain thing must base the statement upon something other than imagination.

"A. (Mrs. McCormick) I told you what I based it upon.

"Q. And that was your opinion?

"A. (Mrs. McCormick) Yes, sir, and I have a certain opinion about you and about this committee.

"Q. That is right.

"A. (Mrs. McCormick) I have an opinion about a great many things.

"Q. Is it a substantial opinion?

"A. (Mrs. McCormick) No."

The personnel of the committee organized by Mrs. McCormick as set forth in the *People's Daily World* of October 26, 1942, was identified by Mrs. McCormick. The committee is as follows:

Philip M. Connelly, *State C. I. O.* President; C. Warne, President of the Local Branch of the *National Lawyers' Guild*; Al Waxman, Editor of the *Eastside Journal*; Leo Gallagher, labor attorney; Jess Armenta, Organizer of the *Laundry Workers*, Local 357; Bert Corona, President of *Warehousemen's Union*, Local 26; Jerome Posner, *Amalgamated Clothing Workers*; Anthony Quinn, Mexican screen actor; John Bright, Representative of the *Council for Pan-American Democracy*; Mrs. Josephine de Bright, Executive Secretary of the *Spanish Speaking People's Congress*; Carey McWilliams, Chief of the State Division of Immigration and Housing; Guy T. Nunn, minority groups representative of the *War Man Power Commission* and State Senator Robert W. Kenny.

Philip M. Connelly was the next witness called. Connelly, like Mrs. La Rue McCormick, was also a hostile witness, extremely faulty in memory and cautiously technical. The following quotations from the transcript are typical of the type of testimony given by Mr. Connelly (Volume XIV, pp. 3784-3785):

"Q. Then \* \* \* if I understand your testimony correctly, you have no interest or have you made any allegations in reference to the *Sinarquista* movement?

"A. (Connelly) We would be interested and are interested in any fifth column activities which might manifest itself in our unions, either to the detriment of the unions or the detriment of the country.

"Q. Any organization that would be disruptive to the organization?

"A. (Connelly) Any fifth column organization, indeed.

"Q. Would that include the Communist Party?

"A. (Connelly) In the event the Communist Party proved to be such a disruptive and fifth column organization, it certainly would.

"Q. Do you feel that it is such an organization?

"A. (Connelly) I am in no position to pass judgment on that. I have no evidence on which to base an answer.

"Q. You have had no connection with or knowledge of the Communist Party and its activities?

"A. (Connelly) That is a broad question. I have general knowledge that there is a Communist Party.

"Q. Well, from your knowledge of the Communist Party would you say it would be a subversive organization?"

"A. (Connelly) I have no knowledge to indicate it is.

"Q. In other words, so far as you are concerned, or from your knowledge, you wouldn't consider the Communist Party as a subversive organization?"

"A. (Connelly) I have no knowledge on which to give an answer on that."

(Volume XIV, p. 3788.)

"Q. You knew, of course, that Mrs. McCormick was and is a member of the Communist Party?"

"A. (Connelly) I don't know that.

"Q. You don't know that?

"A. (Connelly) No.

"Q. Did you ever hear it?

"A. (Connelly) That she was a member of the Communist Party?

"Q. Yes.

"A. (Connelly) I don't think I have ever heard it. I know that she was a Communist candidate for the office which you hold, at the last election.

"Q. That would indicate, of course, she was a member of the Communist Party?

"A. (Connelly) I don't know whether that is so or not."

(Volume XIV, p. 3798.)

"Q. You believe then that the *Sinarquista* movement is actually a Nazi dominated and controlled organization?"

"A. (Connelly) I am not prepared to pass judgment on that.

"Q. In conclusion then, you have absolutely no information whatsoever to give the committee with reference to the *Sinarquista* movement?"

"A. (Connelly) I don't know of any information that would be particularly helpful to the committee. I am generally advised that what information there does exist is in the hands of the Federal bureaus charged with such investigations in time of war, and it seems to me that that is the proper place for it.

"Q. But you have no knowledge as to what that information is or its scope or anything about it?"

"A. (Connelly) Only in a general way.

"Q. Just the general allegation that the *Sinarquista* movement is a Nazi dominated organization, being used to stir up trouble between Mexico and the United States. Would that express your knowledge of it?"

"A. (Connelly) Not necessarily. I would not want to subscribe to your formulation of it, no."

Oscar Fuss was the last witness to be called and he proved of as little assistance as did Mrs. La Rue McCormick and Philip M. Connelly. It was glaringly apparent to the members of the committee

that the three witnesses, while making positive and spectacular charges through the columns of the Communist paper, the *People's Daily World*, had absolutely no information of a factual nature upon which to base their charges.

At the conclusion of the hearing the committee issued a prepared statement to the press stating that the three witnesses who appeared before the committee admitted that they had no factual ground upon which to base their former allegations. The Communist press immediately, pouncing upon this statement, declared that the committee had "white-washed" the *Sinarquistas*. The fact is, regardless of whether the *Sinarquista* movement is subversive or not, the Communist Party has tied it in with its agitation in the Mexican communities of the State in order to recruit Mexicans into the party.

Because the testimony of Philip M. Connelly, Mrs. La Rue McCormick and Oscar Fuss touches on various other aspects of this report, a digest of the testimony of each is herewith included.

#### DIGEST OF TESTIMONY OF CONNELLY, FUSS AND McCORMICK

Philip M. Connelly (Volume XIV, pp. 3777-3816) is the President of the State *Congress of Industrial Organization* in California.

On being read an article from the Communist Party paper, *The People's Daily World*, of October 22, 1942, reporting that the Los Angeles Industrial Council of the C. I. O. and the Spanish Speaking People's Congress had demanded an investigation of the *Sinarquistas* by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Connelly stated that he had no recollection of same.

He had no information of any kind for the committee in reference to the *Sinarquistas*. He was, in fact, a member of the so-called "Citizens Committee," organized by Mrs. La Rue McCormick, a Communist functionary in the County of Los Angeles.

He had general knowledge of the existence of the Communist Party but was in possession of no knowledge to indicate that the Communist Party was subversive.

He called on the sheriff and the district attorney in company with Mrs. La Rue McCormick, Carey McWilliams, Leo Gallagher and others, protesting the conduct of the prosecution of certain Mexican boys on trial for murder, and complained to the sheriff and district attorney of the treatment being given the defendants. He is acquainted with Guy T. Nunn and stated that he saw and first knew Mrs. La Rue McCormick when he was a reporter for the *Los Angeles Herald-Express*. Mrs. La Rue McCormick was connected with the *International Labor Defense* at that time. He knows John Bright and Mrs. Josephine de Bright. He stated that he was not aware that Mrs. La Rue McCormick was a member of the Communist Party, although he admitted knowing that Mrs. McCormick had been a Communist candidate for the office of Senate in the last election. He did not know whether that made her a Communist or not. He claimed that he knew nothing of the Communist Party affiliation of Mr. and Mrs. Bright. He had no knowledge as to the Communist Party affiliation of Oscar Fuss. He knew Bert Corona as the President of the *Warehousemen's Union* of the C. I. O. He has known Roger Johnson since 1937 or 1938. He remembered Morris Smolan as some "guy" who was formerly the circulation man-

ager for the *People's Daily World*, but could not state whether Morris Smolan was a member of the Communist Party or not. He was shown the sworn affidavit of Rena M. Vale in which the circumstances of his affiliation with the Communist Party was described. He read the document and then denied that he had ever made application to join the Communist Party or that he had ever, in fact, joined, or that he was presently a member. He admitted having known Hugh Ben Inzer as a member of the *United Automobile Workers' Union* of the C. I. O. but denied Inzer's testimony as to Hans Diebel and Pettis Perry. He admitted being acquainted with Pettis Perry but could not state whether Perry had been the Secretary of the Communist Party for Los Angeles County or not. He denied ever having met Hans Diebel and denied having a conference in the offices of the C. I. O. with Lew Michener, Hans Diebel and Pettis Perry. He branded Inzer's testimony as completely false.

He admitted having attended several meetings of the *American Peace Mobilization*. He evaded answering inquiries as to whether or not he was in agreement with the *American Peace Mobilization* policy at the time he attended their meetings, but stated that he was interested, as was the C. I. O., in attempting to avoid the spread of war. He claimed that he had not changed his opinion on this subject.

He was shown an article from *The Tidings*, a Los Angeles County Catholic publication, and an article stating in effect that the attack on the *Sinarquistas* was instigated by Communists as a "smear campaign" in an effort to link the organization with the *Falangists* of Spain and the Nazis. Connelly disagreed with the article and the committee's interpretation of it and stated that he had some knowledge to the contrary. He stated that he was not prepared to pass judgment upon the *Sinarquistas*, particularly as to whether or not it was a Nazi dominated and controlled organization and that he was "always leary of newspapers, even *The Tidings*."

Oscar Fuss (Volume XIV, pp. 3817-3839) is the Legislative Representative of the C. I. O. County Council. He is a member of the *Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians*, although he is neither an architect, an engineer, a chemist or a technician. He was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and came to California in the latter part of 1938 upon the request of Alexander Noral, California President of the *Workers' Alliance* and the National Executive Board of that organization. He had been connected with the *Workers' Alliance* in New York City before coming to California. His duties in Los Angeles with the *Workers' Alliance* were those of an organizer. He held this position up to 1941.

The Dies Committee bluntly branded the *Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians* as distinctly a Communist organization. (Dies Reports, Volume 3, p. 2050.) This organization has established a nuclei of Communist members in the various Navy yards on the Pacific Coast, in airplane factories, and various industries essential and necessary in National defense.

Fuss stated that he had been trained for newspaper work. His reason for joining the *Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians* was to act as an organizer for a chapter of that union. He stated that the organization had no requirements for joining, and

that an applicant did not necessarily have to possess a particular skill in any of the categories listed in the name of the union.

He was read certain published statements in regard to the *Sinarquista* movement allegedly made by him. He stated that he made these or similar statements on the basis of information received by him to the effect that some one "had gone around in the Mexican neighborhood and had seen signs painted upon the walls or chalked up reading: 'Down with the Jews, they started the war, let them finish it,' and things of that nature." He could not recall who had given him this information. He believed the difficulty in the Mexican community is being caused by a fifth column. He could offer the committee no further information on the subject. He stated that he was not officially a member of the so-called Citizens Committee, headed by Mrs. La Rue McCormick, but that he had attended some of their meetings.

He learned that Alexander Noral was a member of the Communist Party and stated that he knew Mrs. La Rue McCormick was also a member of the party. He denied ever having been a member of the Communist Party himself, either secretly or as a registered voter, either on the West Coast or in the East or anywhere else. He admitted being acquainted with Josephine de Bright and John Bright, her husband. He could not state whether or not they were members of the Communist Party.

Upon being questioned as to how he came to believe "that the Office of War Information thought a public hearing inadvisable," he stated that he was told so by Guy T. Nunn over the telephone.

*Mrs. La Rue McCormick* (Volume XIV, pp. 3738-3776) was born in Louisville, Kentucky, November 1, 1909, and came to California in 1910. Her maiden name was Mandy. She was very reluctant to admit that she was a member of the Communist Party. She stated that she did not accept the invitation of the committee to appear before it prior to being subpoenaed because she expected the hearing to be just a "cheap, red-baiting meeting." She finally admitted that she was a member of the Communist Party but refused to state how long she had been affiliated.

She admitted that she may have made statements similar to those quoted in the *People's Daily World* to the effect that "Nazi agents are operating in the city's Mexican community and inciting racial antagonism and corrupting the Mexican youth." She frankly stated that such a statement of hers was based on nothing that she knew. When asked if she had any information in reference to any individuals who have been carrying on fifth column work among the Mexicans, she answered that she did not have such information. She stated that her entire approach to the matter was based on her own inner convictions or thoughts and beliefs in reference to the subject. She had no factual information in her possession. Although she admitted being acquainted with Tom Cullen, she did not remember ever having made a demand together with the Los Angeles C. I. O. Council for an investigation on the *Sinarquista* movement, as reported by Tom Cullen in the *People's Daily World*.

She admitted that she had initiated an organization composed of 14 to defend the Mexican boys on trial in Los Angeles County and to expose the fifth column element that were using them as dupes. She

was not acquainted with any of the members of the *Sinarquista* movement and was not acquainted with Pedro De La Villasenor. She had no personal information of any activity on the part of the *Sinarquistas* or their members in discouraging participation in the war effort among the Mexican people, and again reiterated that her statements were based only upon her opinion, and admitted, in substance, that this opinion was not a substantial one.

She admitted having made a statement urging the purging of Nazi agents operating in this city's Mexican community, creating opposition to the United States war effort, inciting racial antagonism and corrupting American-Mexican youth, as quoted in the *People's Daily World* of October 19, 1942. When questioned upon what factual data or evidence she based such a statement she answered that it was because of a great deal of anti-Semitism being spread among the Mexican people. When asked who was spreading anti-Semitic propaganda she stated that she had in mind a particular person who goes under an assumed name and who works for the newspaper *La Opinion*.

Mrs. McCormick stated that she had seen a little paper called *El Sinarquismo*, which, when translated, was found to contain an article on *Sinarquism* patterned after the 16 points of Social Justice of Father Coughlin. She believed this to be subversive material, and she stated that she had turned the paper over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

When asked if it was not part of the current Communist Party line to stir up matters among minority groups in order to make the Communist Party appear a champion of the group, she answered indignantly that such a statement was ridiculous.

Mrs. McCormick admitted that she was a member of the *International Labor Defense* on the Pacific Coast, but, of course, denied that the organization was a Communist Party front.

She testified that the meeting called at the Alexandria Hotel in Los Angeles was at her request and that she had sent personal letters to a number of individuals in the City of Los Angeles, asking them to attend. The "Citizens' Committee" was elected from those who attended the meeting. She was not sure whether Carey McWilliams and Guy T. Nunn had accepted the nomination to serve with the committee or not. Senator Robert W. Kenny, she stated, declined to become a member or to serve with the committee.

She admitted having called on District Attorney John Dockweiler and Sheriff Eugene Biscailuz of Los Angeles County to call the attention of these officials to certain abuses and "cases of brutality" in law enforcement. Under close examination, the witness failed to cite specific instances of brutality in the Mexican youth cases. She admitted having complained of police brutality in some instances but stated that she could give no illustrations or examples. Being pressed for details, she stated "It was just a kind of police brutality, that was all."

Questioned regarding the size of the *Sinarquista* organization, Mrs. McCormick stated that she did not know; that she knew nothing of the meeting places of the group; that she had no knowledge of a headquarters and that she did not know any of the leaders.

She distinguished between the committee she had been responsible for organizing and a Citizens' Committee appointed by the Los Ange-

les County Board of Supervisors. She stated that the committee appointed by the supervisors was headed by Monsignor Thomas J. O'Dwyer.

Being read an article entitled "*Public Mass Meetings to Be Called in Challenge to Red Anti-Sinarquista in Los Angeles*," which appeared in the *Tidings*, a Catholic publication of the County of Los Angeles, the witness refused to make any comment. Questioned concerning the current Communist Party "line" in the matter, Mrs. McCormick stated that she was not speaking for the Communist Party. She refused to either affirm or deny the allegations made in the *Tidings*' article concerning the program of the Communist Party in relation to the *Sinarquista* movement.

**CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF  
MEXICAN-AMERICAN YOUTH**

Mrs. La Rue McCormick's Citizens' Committee is still operating, even though 17 of the Mexican boys have been convicted in the Superior Court of Los Angeles on the charge of murder. Five of the boys were convicted of assault and five were acquitted. It is not the province of your committee to comment on the trial of the case or on the merit of any appeal now pending before the courts. The *Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, regardless of any other consideration, is a typical Communist front organization. The most recent activity of this group is to expand its agitation into churches, unions, fraternal and civic organizations. On a printed letterhead of the organization, giving the headquarters as 206 South Spring Street, Room 342, Los Angeles, California, Telephone MUtual 4964, under date of February 16, 1943, your committee finds the following:

*"To all Church, Union, Fraternal and Civic Organizations:*

"Greetings! This is an appeal to your sense of justice.

"Seventeen innocent Mexican-American boys have been convicted in a Los Angeles court for a crime they did not commit. Several have been condemned to life imprisonment. These convictions arose from distorted, prejudicial and hearsay evidence and were accompanied by a consistent barrage of prejudice in the press.

"A leaflet issued by a Citizens' Committee sponsored by representative civic persons in Los Angeles is here enclosed, giving the essential facts. It explains the necessity for an appeal, not only in the interests of the 17 boys, but in the interests of the Mexican-American community and the war effort. Please read the printed folder at your next meeting.

In order to give the growing number of interested organizations an opportunity to participate in the defense of these innocent boys, we are calling a conference to launch a wide campaign—including churches, unions, fraternal clubs and civic organizations—in behalf of justice in the appellate courts for these innocent youths.

"The fight for the freedom of these boys is an integral part of the welding of Allied unity for the winning of the war. Therefore we request most urgently that your organization send two or more representatives to a Defense Conference to be held Sunday, March 14, 1.30 p.m., at the Unitarian Church, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, where the case will be fully discussed and action decided upon in the interests of the court appeal.

"A credential form is enclosed. Please fill it out and return as quickly as possible.

(S). CLORE WARNE, Chairman"

Clore Warne is indicated on the letterhead as the chairman of the committee. La Rue McCormick is secretary and Robert S. Morris, Jr., the treasurer. The sponsors of the movement are listed, with their organizations, although a note at the bottom of the letter states that the organizations are listed for identification purposes only. The sponsors are as follows:

PHILLIP CONNELLY <i>C.I.O. State President</i>	JOHN BRIGHT <i>Council Pan-American Democracies</i>
AL WAXMAN <i>Eastside Journal</i>	JOSEPHINE FIERRO DE BRIGHT <i>Spanish Speaking People's Congress</i>
LEO GALLAGHER <i>Lawyers' Guild</i>	HERBERT GANAHL <i>Lawyers' Guild</i>
BERT CORONA <i>Warehouseman's Union</i>	DOROTHY COMINGORE <i>Screen Artist's Guild</i>
JEROME POSNER <i>Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union</i>	MINNABELL CLINE <i>Screen Office and Employees' Guild</i>
JESSE ARMENTA <i>Laundry Workers' Union</i>	OSCAR FUSS <i>C.I.O. Legislative Director</i>
GRAY BEMIS <i>International Workers' Order</i>	ROSE HARMON <i>CAREY McWILLIAMS</i>
MRS. WILL ROGERS, JR. CHARLOTTE BASS <i>California Eagle</i>	<i>State Department Immigration and Housing</i>
GUY NUNN <i>Minorities Group Div. War Production Board</i>	ROGER CARDONA <i>President Victory Youth Club</i>
	STEWART NEIL <i>U. C. L. A. Quaker Group</i>

## PART IV

### NAZI ACTIVITIES

#### 1

#### HISTORY

The activities of Hitler's agents, supporters and sympathizers in the United States and in California can not be understood without some slight knowledge of the history of the rise of Naziism and the theories upon which it is based. The members of the committee and its representatives have found it necessary to read and study, not only the pamphlets issued by the *German-American Bund* and its fronts in the United States, but translations of original sources, such as *Mein Kampf* by Adolph Hitler himself, the *Programme of the Party of Hitler* by Gottfried Feder, the *Nazi Primer*, by Brennecke, the *Official Handbook for Schooling the Hitler Youth*, and others.

The German *Social Democratic Party*, chief support of the Weimar Republic, was fought bitterly from its inception by the Communist Party of Germany. Partly because the German *Social Democratic Party* controlled the government of the Weimar Republic (and therefore was to be destroyed), and partly because of the *reformist* character of the party, the Communists of Germany, under the domination of the Comintern, fought it with their usual venom and hatred. Thus, the German Republic in its infancy was doomed. Officers of the former Imperial army were used by the *Social Democrats* in the government for organizing the army of the *Reichswehr*. The new republic retained the judiciary of the exiled Kaiser, most of the diplomatic corps and the former civil service. Few of the Germans carried over from the Kaiser's regime were enthusiastic over the Weimar Republic and possibly looked forward to a restoration of the Hohenzollerns. The *Social Democrats*, bred in the ways of the old Imperial government of Germany, did little, in fact, to differentiate the new republic from the regime of the Kaiser. The Democratic system of the republic never worked satisfactorily. Mr. Michael T. Florinsky, in *Fascism and National Socialism*, points out that between February, 1919, and January, 1933, Germany had 21 cabinets headed by 12 chancellors. The nation broke itself up into innumerable political parties and 38 of them participated in the *Reichstag* elections in 1932.

While the Communists were busily fighting, sabotaging and undermining the Weimar Republic and the *Social Democrats* of Germany, Adolph Hitler in September of 1919 was forming what he was pleased to call a "Labor" Party. He named it the *National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei*, the *National Socialist German Workers' Party*. It became known as the N. S. D. A. P. or the Nazi Party. In 1921 the first groups or cells were formed in Rosenheim and Landshut, Bavaria, and the first unit of the *Sturm Abteilung* (S. A.), or Storm

Troops, were organized. Because they wore brown shirts they became known as the S. A. Brown Shirts. In October of 1922 Hitler's Nazis secured control of Munich, Bavaria, and marched to Coburg. The first Nazi Party Congress was held in January of 1923; the first flags of the party were "consecrated" and the S. A. formally established. During the Summer of 1923 Hitler's Storm Troopers terrorized most of Bavaria, fighting both the *Social-Democrats* and the Communists. In November of 1923, Hitler's attempt to overthrow the government by his "putsch" on Munich failed and he was arrested. He was tried in Munich, convicted and sentenced to Landsberg Prison in March of 1924, where he languished until December of that year. Returning to his agitation he continued unmolested until the latter part of 1925 when a decree was issued prohibiting his speaking in public for a period of two years. He, nevertheless, continued to work underground and to perfect his organization. In August of 1926 the Nazi Party held its Congress in Nuremberg.

The order forbidding Hitler to speak in public was withdrawn in 1927. The second Nazi Congress met at Nuremberg on August 4, 1929. The Storm Troopers were increased in numbers and the S. S. (*Schutz Staffel*), black-shirted troops, were organized as a bodyguard for Hitler. Herr Feder states that Hitler now "stood forth without a rival as the most powerful leader against all that was meant by 'Democracy.'" The *Reichstag* elections took place September 14, 1930, and the Nazi Party polled six and one-half million votes and elected 107 members. In July of 1932 the Nazi Party rolled up over thirteen million votes and gained 230 seats in the *Reichstag*. On January 30, 1933, Hitler was appointed *Reich Chancellor*. In October of that year he withdrew Germany from the League of Nations and signed a Concordat with Pope Pius XI guaranteeing the Catholic Church religious freedom in the *Reich*. On January 26, 1934, he signed a 10-year non-aggression pact with Poland. Dollfuss was murdered in an unsuccessful Nazi coup in Austria July 25, 1934. On August 1, 1934, Hitler became President of the Third Reich following the death of Von Hindenburg and assumed the official title *Fuehrer* and *Kanzler*.

Hitler's National Socialist State still seemed a dream when he became Chancellor of Germany under von Hindenburg. His cabinet, in addition to himself, included only two National Socialists, Frick and Goering. Frick, as Minister of the Interior of the *Reich* and Goering, as Minister of the Interior of Prussia, commanded all of the police forces of Germany. Hitler's new government dissolved the *Reichstag* and new elections were ordered for March 5, 1933. On February 27, 1933, the building of the *Reichstag* was discovered to be on fire and Hitler hailed this as a signal for a general Communist uprising. It was immediately used as a pretext for ruthless and vicious attacks on all "Marxists" and German Communists. The following day, February 28, 1933, President von Hindenburg suspended the provisions of the constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech, press and assembly. The police were given unlimited powers over the populace and alleged offenders. In this chaos of terror and tension the *Reichstag* elections were held. The National Socialists (Nazis) polled over seventeen million votes and gained 288 seats. Many of the *Social Democrats* and Communist deputies were now either in

prison or hiding. On March 24, 1933, the so-called "Enabling Act, a Law to Combat the Misery of the People and of the Reich" was enacted unanimously by the votes of all parties except the *Social Democrats*. This law gave the government unlimited powers which it immediately assumed. New courts were established and all means of communication and information were immediately placed under the control of the Minister of Propaganda and Enlightenment, Dr. Goebbels. Universities and schools were placed under the supervision of the Minister of Education, Dr. Rust. The political parties of Germany dissolved or faded into insignificance. On July 14, 1933, the *National Socialist Party* (Nazis) was made the official party of the Reich and it became a criminal offense to establish, or to attempt to establish, a new party. The trade unions which had formerly supported the *Social Democratic Party*, were now taken over by the Nazis. The labor leaders were arrested and their offices and press appropriated by trusted Nazis. On December 1, 1933, the *National Socialist Party* was incorporated in the machinery of the government. Each of the states of the Reich was placed under a *Reichskommissar*, and by a law of April 17, 1933, the duties of the *Reichskommissar* were committed to a *Statthalter* who was a personal representative of Hitler and appointed on his recommendation by the president. The *Statthalters* were given virtual dictatorial powers.

In January of 1934, the last vestige of democratic economy within the states of the Reich was transferred to the Reich itself. Thus, upon the death of President von Hindenburg, the supreme executive and legislative power of Germany became concentrated in the hands of Adolph Hitler.

In addition to building up the Nazi armies, the Nazi Party has provided efficient forces for the internal enemies of the Third Reich. These consist of the S. A. (*Sturm Abteilung*), Hitler's early Brown-Shirt Storm Troopers; the S. S. (*Schutz Staffel*), the black-shirted troops constituting Hitler's own particular army and bodyguards; the *Gestapo* (*Geheime Staats Polizei*), the Secret State Police, and the regular police forces of the Third Reich. A new organization, reported to have been created in January or February of 1935 by Himmler, is known as the *Landwache*. This organization is apparently a militia of members of the Nazi Party still in civilian life and was undoubtedly created for the purpose of subduing opposition or war-weariness on the part of the German people.

On June 18, 1935, Hitler signed a naval agreement with Great Britain. In March of the same year he established universal compulsory military service in the Third Reich. In 1936 he entered into an "Anti-Comintern Agreement" with Japan. In 1937 Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan and Germany. In September of that year Mussolini traveled to Berlin and established the "Berlin-Rome Axis." On March 13, 1938, Austria was incorporated into the Third Reich. On September 30, 1938, the famous Munich Conference between Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier and Mussolini took place. The Sudeten area was wrested from Czechoslovakia and Hitler gave his personal guarantee that he had no further territorial demands in Europe. On October 10, 1938, the Nazis occupied the Sudeten area.

On October 24, 1938, Hitler demanded the return of the Polish Corridor from Poland and Poland refused. On November 10, of the same year, he launched his first nation-wide "Jewish-Pogrom" and instituted organized persecution, including mutilation and murder of Jewish men, women and children. The first official confiscation of Jewish property began.

In January, 1939, Hitler repeated his demands for the Polish Corridor and Poland again refused. In March, Hitler invaded Bohemia and Moravia and Memel territories, and again demanded the Polish Corridor and Danzig from Poland. Poland refused for the third time. On March 29, 1939, Chamberlain pledged Poland military support in the event of a Nazi attack. On August 22, 1939, Hitler signed a non-aggression pact with Stalin and on September 1, invaded Poland. On the ninth of April, 1940, the Nazi armies invaded Denmark and Norway. On May 10, the occupation of Holland began and was completed in five days. The occupation of Belgium was completed in 18 days and on May 29 to June 4, 1940, the evacuation of British troops from Dunkirk took place. France surrendered in July of 1940 and the Nazi troops invaded Rumania. Nazi military occupation in Hungary and Bulgaria followed in the Winter of 1940-1941 and on April 6, 1941, Hitler attacked Yugoslavia and Greece. On June 22, 1941, Nazi troops invaded Russia. December 11, 1941, Germany declared war on the United States.

## 2

### THEORY

The average human being, nurtured in an atmosphere of decency and surrounded by the culture and humanity of American civilization, may well inquire as to the causes underlying the brutalizing of the people of Germany. The committee, in attempting to understand the actions of Hitler's agents in California, have asked themselves these questions. The answers are not at all satisfactory.

The *Programme of the Party of Hitler*, by Gottfried Feder, boldly and unashamedly, lays down the objectives of Hitler and his so-called *National Socialist German Workers' Party*. Section two of the program of the Nazi Party declares the twenty-five points of Nazism as being *inalterable*. The mainsprings of the machine which catapulted the mad house-painter Schicklegruber into his bloody surge over Europe demands investigation.

The union of all Germans for the formation of a Greater Germany is the first and foremost objective laid down for the New Order. The Nordic myth is a unique and outstanding cornerstone of the entire Nazi philosophy. Point four of the so-called program provides that only those of German blood, regardless of creed, may be members of the Nation and only members of the Nation may be citizens of the State. A Jew, therefore, may not be a citizen of the State because he may not be a member of the Nation. Only a citizen of the Third Reich has franchise and only citizens have a right to hold any position in its government. Point seven is interesting, in that it provides that if the State is not able to nourish the entire population then non-citizens are to be excluded from the Reich. Point eight prohibits non-German immigration and orders the deportation of all non-Germans

who entered Germany subsequent to August 2, 1914. Point ten provides that the activities of the individual are not to clash with the interests of the whole, thus relegating the individual to a mere creature of the State. Point thirteen provides for the nationalization of all businesses. Point nineteen abolishes the Roman Law and provides for the substitution of a legal system for all Germany. Point twenty wipes out old educational systems and provides for its reconstruction in conformity with Nazi theory. Point twenty-five restricts journalism to members of the Nation and sets up a strict censorship over the press generally. Non-Germans are prohibited from participation, either financially or otherwise, in influencing German newspapers. This point also forbids the publishing of papers which do not accept the Nazi philosophy and its provisions are extended to literature and art. Point twenty-five guarantees liberty for all religious denominations in the Reich, "*so far as they are not a danger to it and do not militate against the moral feelings of the German race.*" Point twenty-five plans the creation of the Nazi dictatorship. The leaders of the Nazi Party swore to sacrifice their lives in fulfilling the entire program.

The dismissal of the Jews and non-Germans from responsible positions, not only in the government, but in public life, is boldly announced as an important objective. Herr Feder in elaborating on the twenty-five points of the Nazi program, states: "The main battle is one between two world theories, represented by two essentially differing structures—the spirit which has created is creative, and the unquiet, grasping spirit. The creative spirit, deep-rooted, but superior to the rest of the world in spiritual experience, is carried mainly by the Aryan race; the grabbing spirit, without roots anywhere, aiming only at material things, commercial, is chiefly represented by the Jews. \* \* \* National Socialism, like anti-Semitism, regards the Jewish materialistic spirit as the chief cause of the evil; it knows, however, that this greatest struggle in history must not stop short of merely destroying the Semitic spirit \* \* \*."

Thus, it may be seen from the official program of the Nazi Party itself, that racial hatred, directed particularly at the Jews as a scapegoat for the world's ills, unleashes the brutality of prejudice and the greed for loot.

The policy of the Third Reich, as stated in the principle of the Nazi Party, is extended to embrace all branches of the German race—"All of German blood, whether living under French, Danish, Polish, Czech or Italian sovereignty, shall be united in a German Reich \* \* \*. We claim all the Germans in Sudeten Germany, Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, the League Colony of Austria, and the states which succeeded to the old Austria."

The foreign policy is stated thus: "It is usually the best, most industrious and venturesome—engineers, explorers, professors, merchants, doctors—who go into foreign lands, carrying German Kultur with them. They are members of the great German National family, to which they must never be lost. They have a right to expect protection from home when they are abroad. They should be not merely disseminators of Kultur, but the conscious advance guard of the Germanic idea in the world; not 'apostles of humanity,' but bearers of the Nordic idea. Those who represent Germany abroad should not acquire foreign

notions, but stick to their superior German character. Our Foreign Office must be swept clean with an iron besom. We must finish with the obsequiousness toward the foreigner after the manner of Erzberger and Pressman, and it will be seen that strong representation of German interests will be quite otherwise respected, and attention to German desires in place of contempt will be the result."

It may be easily discerned from the foregoing that the Nazi Party contemplates a German world. While despising the Jew and heaping abuse and vilification upon him as the scapegoat for Germany's ills, the defeated, humiliated and inferiority-complexed Hitler and his brutalized thugs have nevertheless borrowed its chief appeal from the Talmud of the people it proposes to persecute and destroy. The Teuton, the Nordic, the *German* would destroy the people of Abraham; ruthlessly uproot and obliterate them from the face of the earth.

The economic principles of the Nazi Party are embodied in the statement that: "The duty of the State is to provide the necessities of life and not to secure the highest possible profit or capital." It allegedly differs from Communism, in that it recognizes private property as a principle and professes to protect it by law. It proposes to set a limit on the massing of wealth in the hands of individuals. Every German is obliged to work for Germany and all businesses are nationalized, thus bringing them under the strict supervision of the Nazi Government. Usury, profiteering and personal enrichment at the expense and injury of the nation is punishable with death and compulsory labor is imposed upon every German for a period of one year. The *Reichsbank* is nationalized and projects are to be financed by the issuing of noninterest-bearing State bonds or without the use of money.

Old age insurance is proposed by the nationalization of the system of annuities professing to assure every member of the German State a sufficient pension upon the attainment of a given age, or, if permanently disabled, before that age. Participation by all Germans engaged in productive enterprises in the profits according to age and efficiency, as well as responsibility in the fulfilling of the task, is imposed. Housing, to meet the shortage of dwellings in the Reich, is proposed by means of issuing noninterest-bearing loans through the nationalized *Reichsbank*.

While private property is allegedly recognized, the right to borrow from private sources on security of land is abolished and the State is given the right of preemption "especially in the case of foreigners and Jews." This recognition of the right of property is obviously a fiction in Nazi law. The State is empowered to administer estates in the event of "bad management" on the part of the owner.

The exaltation of the State over the individual may be said to be the essence of the Nazi social policy. In the Nazi philosophy the individual exists for the State and for the State only.

The three obstacles in the way of Nazi achievements, according to Herr Feder, were the Jews, parliamentary government and the capitalists. Paradoxically enough, the Nazis place Capitalism and Marxism (Communism) in the same category. Feder states that Marxism is *pseudo-socialism*, not founded on common sense or on any "social" idea. He further states that "Marxism is an expression of capitalistic

treason. Capitalistic, because when a society founded on individualism has fallen into chaos, it of necessity falls under the sway of the great financial magnate." Herr Feder concludes his comparison of Capitalism and Marxism with the following: "They grow on the same intellectual stem. There is a whole world of difference between them and us, their bitterest opponents. It is neither a class struggle nor class selfishness, but—our chief law is the general welfare."

We might continue the examination of the Nazi philosophy, purposes and designs at great length, but the above sufficiently describes the designs of these modern Huns. From the foregoing, the following pattern and summary of design may be drawn:

1. The fiction of race superiority. This fiction exalts the Aryan over the other races and the German over all. The German becomes the master race, chosen of the Nazi God to rule over the entire world, with the lesser races as the slaves and serfs of the Germans.

2. World domination by the master Aryan German is the ultimate design of the Nazis. Over this great race of Germans, mastering the lesser races of the world, stands the mighty chosen one, the *Fuehrer*. Inspired by an Aryan God of Nazi creation and issuing orders and decrees born of Germanic intuition, the *Fuehrer* eventually is destined to rule the world.

3. Lesser races, not of the Aryan stock, may be permitted to exist for the good of the Third Reich, but the cause of all the world's troubles and ills, the Jews, are to be utterly destroyed.

4. Nothing less than the complete subjugation and conquest of the world by the Nazis is ordained for the fulfillment of its objectives.

Dr. Goebbels sums it all up with religious fervor. He declares: "The Nazi Party is a political church, where for hundreds of years German people will be trained to be true National Socialists. We are the political pastors of our people."

Propaganda, racial prejudices and the sword are to be used in the attainment of the Nazi Utopia. Hitler made full use of Communist tactics in destroying the Weimar Republic. His cells and units were organized underground for illegal work during the first few years of his career. Prejudices against the Jews, the financiers, the foreign ministers and bankers, were whipped to a white fury. Sporadic Jewish pogroms throughout Germany were brutally instigated and ruthlessly carried out. The possessions of the Jewish populace became loot for brown- and black-shirted thugs. Hitler first conquered Germany. Espionage agents of the Third Reich penetrated the countries of Europe, of South and North America. Anti-Semitic organizations were immediately contacted and encouraged to further activity by news of the New Order arising in Central Europe over the mutilated bodies of the Jewish race. Little men with little minds and big inferiority complexes throughout the world pounded their sunken breasts in the glory of their suddenly found Aryanism. Many a deluded European permitted Hitler's panzer divisions to smash their countries in the belief that Hitler struck only at the Jew and the Communist. In California pamphlets and cards were printed and distributed by wild-eyed Aryan anti-Semites bearing but three words: "Ve Vant Var."

The *Friends of New Germany* took its place alongside of the *Friends of Soviet Russia*. German-American Bunds and German Bund fronts sprang up throughout the United States. Uniformed Storm Troopers arrogantly marched at Hindenburg Park in Los Angeles and guarded the meetings of the Bund in Deutsches Haus' of a dozen cities. American Communists picketed Bund meetings and Bundsters bewailed the menace of Communism.

In August of 1939 remaining sanity in a lunatic world grew dizzy and was sorely tested as the hooked cross of the Third Reich blew in the breeze of Moscow's Red Square and the hammer and sickle fluttered in Berlin, while Hitler and Stalin joined hands in a non-aggression pact.

The preservation of the democracies of the world may lie in the full realization and utilization of the lesson to be learned from these events.

### 3

#### GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND

The *Friends of New Germany* was probably the first organization in the United States reflecting the ideology of the Third Reich, the ravings of *Mein Kampf* and the Fuehrership of Adolph Hitler. The *Friends of New Germany* eventually blossomed forth into the *German-American Bund*. The National headquarters were located in New York City. The control of the 11 western states comprising the far western division stemmed from the office of Hermann Max Schwinn located in the Deutsches Haus, at 634 W. Fifteenth Street in the City of Los Angeles. The last National leader of the *German-American Bund* was Wilhelm Kunze, and his predecessor was Fritz Kuhn. Both of these American Fuehrers were frequent visitors to the State of California.

Some 25 witnesses were subpoenaed for examination on the activities of the *German-American Bund* in California. These witnesses may also be divided into friendly and hostile witnesses. Among the friendly witnesses were Ben S. Beery, Americanism Chairman of the Seventeenth District, of the *American Legion*, John G. Burerkle, Gene Haggberg and Hugh Ben Inzer. The other witnesses are as follows:

David Baxter,  
Hans F. Bauer,  
William P. Bauer,  
Hans Diebel,  
Franz K. Ferenz,  
Karl August Heuschele,  
Emil Lodahl,  
George Ernest Martens,  
James Morrison McBride,  
Lydia Joan McBride,  
Emil Mehl,

Frank Muehlke,  
John L. Riemer,  
Hermann Max Schwinn,  
Harold A. Sparling,  
Edward Stuetz,  
Baron F. Van Meter,  
Daniel E. Van Meter,  
James A. Van Meter,  
Carl Woepelmann,  
Harry R. Bridges.

The first uniform worn by members of the *Friends of New Germany*, according to Hans Diebel (Volume IV, pp. 1092-1134, 1151-1152), was composed of a white shirt with dark trousers, overseas cap and armband bearing the letters "O. D." and a swastika "embedded in the rising

sun." Hans Diebel was born in Marburg, Germany, and was an optician by profession. He was a member of the *Friends of New Germany*, having affiliated with this organization in 1935. When he testified before the committee October 17, 1941, he at first denied that he had ever become affiliated with the *German-American Bund*, but later (p. 1098) admitted being a member. For some time prior to his testimony he operated a book store in the Deutsches Haus. He stated that he had ceased selling literature in the German language for about three years. He admitted operating a projection machine showing motion pictures about Germany and that the latest one shown by him was concerning the German campaign in France, "*Victory in the West.*" He estimated that around 400 people viewed this film which he ran four or five nights. Mr. Kendzia, the treasurer for *German-American Business Association* (*Deutsches Haus Gesellschaft*) compensated Diebel for operating the projection machine. He identified himself in a Bund uniform in a photograph in possession of the committee. He tended the bar at the Deutsches Haus on occasion. He stated that the "O. D." uniforms were used only for "ushers." He identified pictures of Kunze and Schwinn. He stated that there had been no Bund meetings since Hermann Max Schwinn had dissolved the unit, when Schwinn lost his citizenship, although Schwinn had testified that Carl Woepelmann had succeeded him in the directorship of the western division. He admitted that the Bund Flag contained the same emblem as that used on Bund uniform arm-bands. He described the Bund salute with outstretched hand. He knew James and Joan McBride, Emil Lodahl, Hans F. Bauer and Arno Risse.

Diebel admitted that he sold the Bund newspapers in his place, the *Aryan Book Store* located in the Deutsches Haus. He said that he took the bookstore over from a Mr. Themlitz in 1935 when Themlitz returned to Germany. He stated that he had been interested in that kind of literature and that was the reason he took over the store. He said that he did not sell the book, *Hitler*, which had been compiled by F. K. Ferenz, but that he had seen the book in Ferenz' shop.

Diebel made a trip to Germany in 1936 with Toni Koerner and returned to America on the same ship with Fritz Kuhn, although he did not travel in the same class with him. He stayed six months in Germany and affiliated with the Bund after his return from Germany, his membership ceasing when his citizenship was denied (p. 1118).

Diebel admitted publishing lists of the books and literature carried in his bookstore, but denied that he had ever used the swastika on letter-heads, but, that instead, he used the American Flag. He admitted that each letterhead carried the line "The World Jewry Wants War to Strengthen Their Supremacy." Diebel admitted that he agreed with this sentiment but that he had not composed the sentence. He carried Pelley's books, *The Truth About the Protocols*, by Rev. Dr. Gerald Winrod. He likewise admitted using the slogan "Publicity is the best cure for all public evil. We carry the biggest selection of anti-Jewish-Communistic literature in the country." He stated that he had never sold "World Service," but that he had received some copies from Germany. He admitted having addressed a meeting upon his return from Germany relating what he had seen in the New Germany.

He knew Dr. George Gyssling, the German Consul and had met him several times. He attended the rally at the Hollywood Bowl when Charles A. Lindbergh spoke in Los Angeles.

He stated that he did a business of about \$50 per month in the *Aryan Book Store* and that he paid no rent for the premises and received no salary. His trip to Germany cost him between \$600 and \$700 which he saved from his salary. He stated that he believed the German people had been persecuted by the Jews and he believed in "getting back." He stated that he was not acquainted with Lew Michener or Pettis Perry and denied ever having attended a meeting in the Currier Building when these men were present.

Carl Woepelmann, although the successor to Hermann Max Schwinn as the Fuehrer of the Western Division, knew very little about the *German-American Bund* if his testimony could be believed. (Volume IV, pp. 1135-1150.) Woepelmann was born in Rodheim, Germany, and came to the United States in 1921. He came to Los Angeles from Cleveland, Ohio, and lived in California for seven years. He first belonged to the *Friends of New Germany* and attended meetings at the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles, finally affiliating with the *German-American Bund*. He was a member of the uniformed "O. D." section of the Bund. He testified that he was director of the Western Division "in name only" and that the local unit does not hold meetings or does the uniformed "O. D." section meet. He claimed that the membership list of the Bund had been destroyed and that he had never seen any of the Bund orders from the East. He testified that he did not know how many members there were in the Los Angeles Bund or who they were. He stated that some called themselves "sympathizers" but he did not know who they were. He admitted sending money to the National headquarters in New York City but his memory failed him completely when asked to tell how much was sent. He stated that a Mr. Elmer is the National Secretary of the Bund. He admitted that Kunze had appointed him to succeed Schwinn in 1941.

The *German-American Bund* in the United States was divided into three districts, Eastern, Middle Western and Western. The National leader received his inspiration, program and orders from Berlin, although Fuehrers, such as Herman Max Schwinn (Volume III, pp. 760-779) claimed that the National leader took his orders from the National Convention. The organizational set-up of the *German-American Bund* in this regard is based on the same fictions used by the Communist Party of the United States. Conventions in the United States are held once a year and are attended by delegates elected by Bund units and the number of delegates from each Bund unit is determined by the number of members in the unit. Schwinn testified that when he attended conventions his expenses were paid by the local Bund unit.

The three districts in the United States were broken down into units, under the direction of a Fuehrer or director placed over the particular district. Herman Max Schwinn was the director for the eleven western States, known as the Western Division. He was succeeded by Carl Woepelmann, after Schwinn's citizenship had been canceled.

The official constitution of the *German-American Bund* provided for units and other subdivisions and "block watchers." Schwinn stated that he never paid much attention to the official constitution

and therefore did not maintain "block watchers" in Los Angeles. (Volume III, p. 771.)

Instructions for each unit were issued from time to time. Membership cards were furnished each Bund unit with instructions printed in German and titled "Organizational Set-up and Administrative Regulations." The membership card system included colored cards and contained light blue cards bearing the letter "J" for Jews.

Instructions and documents were likewise issued from time to time printed in German in reference to the discipline of Bund members, the anticipation of violence and other fanaticisms similar to Hitler's commands in Germany.

Herman Max Schwinn testified (Volume IV, pp. 1190-1208) that only those of Aryan blood were eligible for membership in the Bund.

He admitted that part of the Bund wore uniforms and he identified the uniform in a picture of himself taken with Wilhelm Kunze, the last National Fuehrer. (Volume III, pp. 760-779.) He stated that the "O. D." on the arm bands of the uniforms stood for "Order Division" and that the same initials could be used for the German words of the same meaning "*Ordnung Dienst*." The symbol used on the arm band was also described by Schwinn as a Swastika coming out of the rising sun.

Schwinn testified October 14, 1941, and October 16, 1941. He had been the director of the eleven western States of the *German-American Bund* for some four or five years and received a salary for this position. He testified that he was born in Hamburg, Germany, August 13, 1905, and that he came to the United States in 1924, going first to Canton, Ohio, where he remained for a year and a half, then to Akron, Ohio, and from there to Los Angeles, where he became a United States citizen. He was appointed the Western Director of the *German-American Bund* in either 1934 or 1935 and held that position until 1940 when he lost his citizenship. He stated that the constitution of the Bund made United States citizenship a prerequisite to membership in the Bund, all of which statement, of course, was a fiction. He named the National leaders of the Bund as Fritz Kuhn, Giffibl, Dr. Schuch and "a few others." He stated that he became interested in the change in Germany in 1933 and joined the *Friends of New Germany*. He named the official *German-American Bund* newspaper as *The Free American*. He admitted having his membership card files destroyed in Los Angeles "two or three years ago," pursuant to orders that had come from National headquarters. A Mr. Kendzia is the Treasurer of the Bund most of the time. Schwinn admitted knowing Hans Diebel, F. K. Ferenz and Emil Lodahl. He claimed that the Bund, as such, had no part in the *America First Committee*. He stated that Diebel could not be a member of the Bund because he was not a citizen and that he had to leave the Bund when his citizenship was canceled.

Besides the uniformed guard known as the "O. D. Units" Schwinn stated there was a ladies' auxiliary, a youth group, unemployment service and charity groups.

He stated that the Bund did not display the Flag of the Third Reich at its functions and that the only time this flag was ever used was when German diplomats appeared before their meetings. His memory

failed him in reference to the number of members in the *German-American Bund* unit in the City of Los Angeles, but he admitted that the attendance at meetings were from one hundred to three or four hundred and that the Bund met about once a month. He could not identify members because, he stated, he had never had the membership records in his possession. The Bund unit in Los Angeles had held closed meetings during his incumbency.

He denied that he had ever seen instructions for drilling "O. D. Units."

He stated that the American Flag was displayed in all meetings that he had conducted and that on one or two occasions there were two flags, including the Flag of the Third Reich. He stated that he had never complied with the instructions from the National headquarters concerning saluting, although he admitted receiving such instructions. He identified pictures of Dr. Goebbels and Horst Wessel in a photograph of himself and Wilhelm Kunz. He stated that the "O. D. Unit" in Los Angeles varied in membership from 20 to 100.

The *Amerikadeutscher Volksbund* may be designated as the voice of Naziism. This organization sought to consolidate all of the Fascist elements in America into one great movement, including the Italian Black Shirts, the Ukrainian Brown Shirts and the German-American Bundsters. It is known that the *German-American Bund* leaders in California were in close touch with the Gold Shirts of Mexico, and cooperated wherever possible with the *Ku Klux Klan* and the *Silver Shirts*.

The committee learned that the *German-American Bund* was in constant contact with Nazi diplomatic representatives in California until these agencies were closed by the Federal Government. This fact was well established by the testimony of Bund leaders. In addition to others, the Steuben societies, Turnvereins and singing societies were all used as fronts for the Bund. Summer camps were maintained in California where German-American children were taught the harsh doctrines of Naziism, drilled, regimented, toughened, disciplined and indoctrinated with the theory that Democracy is decadent.

Storm Troopers of *German-American Bund* units in California drilled in full uniform and guarded the meeting places against intruders. Your committee is in possession of photographic evidence of these facts. In the meeting place of the California Bunds, usually referred to as the "Deutsches Haus," pictures of Hitler, Goebbels, Horst Wessel and other leaders of the Third Reich were prominently displayed on the walls, which were also festooned with swastikas.

Book stores such as the *Aryan Book Store* located in the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles, maintained a steady flow of Nazi propaganda. Men such as F. K. Ferenz exhibited pro-Nazi motion pictures and distributed literature.

The committee had access to photostatic copies of the instructions issued to all Bund leaders from Wilhelm Kunze, setting forth in the greatest detail the whole business of the organization and the methods by which its objectives could be achieved. This document was most revealing and stated in unmistakable terms that the Bund was dedicated to the supremacy of the German Aryan, and the welding together of all German-Americans to assist Nazi Germany's struggle for the

New Order. This document contained expressions of the deep contempt of the Bund for the soft and emasculated Democracy of the United States in contrast to the strong and vigorous nature of the Third Reich.

Ellis O. Jones testified that he had known Herman Max Schwinn for about two years and Hans Diebel for something less than that time. (Volume III, pp. 744-760.) He had known F. K. Ferenz since 1932 or 1933 and stated that he had met him at "Bellamy meetings." He likewise admitted that he had viewed German pictures exhibited by Ferenz. He knew Harold A. Sparling and had attended a meeting or two with him. He had distributed buttons of the *National Copperheads of America* at functions in Hindenberg Park. He denied having any knowledge that the Hindenberg affairs had any connection with Charles A. Lindbergh. He admitted having met the Van Meter brothers in T. W. Hughes meetings, and admitted that he had later met them at the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles. (Volume IX, pp. 2489-2528.) He likewise was acquainted with James and Joan McBride and admitted that he had known them for about a year. He had seen them both at the Deutsches Haus. He knew W. H. Sahli, of the *Ku Klux Klan*, Faith McCullough, A. M. Windhorst and Dr. Ernest Kramer. He had met Dr. Kramer at the T. W. Hughes meetings and at *America First Committee* meetings.

Gene Hagberg, an investigator, visited the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles in 1939. He stated that Dr. Eric Wilson and his wife, Pearl Wilson, were members of the *German-American Bund* and that they had held meetings in their home in April of 1939 attended by Emil Lodahl and his wife, Dr. and Mrs. Schumacker and others. He stated that Lodahl had suggested at this particular meeting that they celebrate Hitler's birthday and Dr. Wilson, acting on the suggestion, called Herman Max Schwinn to make arrangements for the affair. Hagberg, in his capacity of investigator, attended this meeting and Dr. Wilson arranged for him to meet Schwinn.

Hagberg testified that Dr. Wilson had bragged of interviewing Dr. Goebbels in 1936 and 1937 and stated that Goebbels had presented him (Dr. Wilson) with a copy of *Mein Kampf* personally autographed by Hitler.

Hagberg stated that Lodahl was a member of the Los Angeles Unit of the *German-American Bund*. He stated that Lodahl met German boats in Los Angeles Harbor, at San Pedro with a truck carrying dry cleaner's signs.

Hagberg told of a meeting held May 23, 1941, on Washington Boulevard in Los Angeles which was sponsored by a Japanese-Communist group known as *Doho Jin Sha* at which Ed Robbin, Communist radio commentator for the *People's Daily World* told of collecting in excess of \$1,000 at the Roosevelt Hotel for the American Rescue Ship *Mission*. He stated that Robbin donated \$25 of this amount to the Japanese-Communist paper, *Doho*, in Los Angeles. After this meeting, a girl took up collections for the Columbia Recording strike (C. I. O.—UERMWA). He stated that a number of people attending this particular meeting were familiar to him as frequenters of the Deutsches Haus of the *German-American Bund* in Los Angeles. He described

the collaboration of the Communist *Doho Jin Sha* group with the *German-American Bund* during the Stalin-Hitler Pact.

Emil Lodahl was born in Dagmar, Montana and claimed to be of Danish extraction. (Volume III, pp. 886-907.) He said he was a dry cleaner and that he had formerly worked for the Joy Cleaners and Dyers, but that he was, at the time of testifying, in business for himself.

Lodahl organized the *National Patriots*. He stated that the Van Meter brothers had printed a magazine at 2180 West Adams Street in Los Angeles for this organization. He stated that no records were kept and that the organization had no office. The purpose of the *National Patriots* was to set up a group to combat the *National Students Union*, a Communist group.

He admitted making trips to Los Angeles harbor in the truck of the Joy Cleaners and Dyers. He stated that these trips were made because of the fact that he owned a boat.

He admitted visiting the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles and knowing Herman Max Schwinn. He stated that he had attended several Bund meetings and had seen the leader in uniform. He also admitted having seen swastika arm bands on individuals at Hindenberg Park affairs. He met Kunze when he was visiting Los Angeles. He remembered having seen the Van Meter brothers at Bund meetings in uniform. He knew Arthur Burnett. He had heard the Horst Wessel song at "O. D." meetings. He illustrated the "O. D." salute and stated that the greeting accompanying the salute was "Heil!" He attended the *America First Committee* rally in Hollywood Bowl and heard Lindbergh speak. He met Harold A. Sparling in the Deutsches Haus and was acquainted with William Ferguson.

James Morrison McBride denied that he had ever been a member of the *German-American Bund*. (Volume IV, pp. 935-964.) He admitted, however, of visiting the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles frequently, and, as a matter of fact, rather regularly since the "Communists put on a demonstration there." (1937.) He celebrated Hitler's birthday in the Deutsches Haus on April 19, 1941. "I think Adolph Hitler is a very wonderful man for Germany; he has nothing to do with this country," McBride declared (p. 944). He identified a picture of Wilhelm Kunze and said that he was "a very nice man" (p. 940). He also identified Goebbels' picture and stated that he was another "very nice man." He identified pictures of Martha Hauser, W. Kendzia, Herman Max Schwinn, Eunice Woeppleman and Hans Diebel. McBride stated that he didn't like Stalin. At the time of testifying, McBride stated that "everybody in the Deutsches Haus is afraid to talk politics." He liked the Deutsches Haus because of its "respectable atmosphere." Adolph Hitler, according to McBride, is a Christian, fighting a Christian war—a defensive war. It was Stalin, in the opinion of McBride, who violated the pact with Hitler.

He claimed that he did not know anything about the *German-American Bund*. He indicated that he believed in preserving nationality and that the instructions to Bund members in reference to the preservation of the German language and nationality was correct. "Don't the Jews follow it?" he asked (p. 950). He stated that he believed in his "own race first" (p. 948).

He admitted having picketed the Wendell Willkie meeting in the Hollywood Bowl and identified pictures of himself and wife in the act of picketing the meeting. He stated that his reason for opposing this meeting was that Willkie was spreading British propaganda.

Mrs. Lydia Joan McBride, wife of James M. McBride, was a part-time waitress at the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles. (Volume IV, pp. 1052-1070, 1080.) She received her salary by checks but did not know who signed them. Her maiden name was "Warr." She wore a bracelet with a swastika on it and claimed that she purchased it at an Indian Jewelry Store on Seventh Street in Los Angeles several years before. She laughed at the committee triumphantly and stated that she believed it to be an Indian "good luck sign."

Mrs. McBride was born in East Prussia, Germany, and came to the United States when she was "very young." She has derivative citizenship in the United States. She claimed that she had not kept track of her relatives in Germany. She attended "Kaffee Klatches," or "Women's Clubs" at the Deutsches Haus but denied being affiliated with the women's auxiliary of the *German-American Bund*. She was wearing a button of the *National Copperheads* when she testified October 16, 1941, and in answer to an inquiry stated that she got it from Ellis O. Jones. She remembered seeing swastikas draped over "some kind of an affair" in the Deutsches Haus and in seeing swastikas on plates on the walls.

Mrs. McBride read *Mein Kampf* and stated that she believed Hitler to be a very great man and felt that he had done a lot of good for Germany. She believes that the German people in the United States are better citizens than the Jews because it is the Jews who want to lead the United States into war.

Mrs. McBride was called before the committee again on February 24, 1942. (Volume IX, pp. 2790-2799.) She informed the committee this time that she had been married previously and that her former married name was "Redmer." She now admitted knowing Herman Max Schwinn and recalled that Schwinn had always cautioned the customers at the Deutsches Haus not to talk politics. She stated that all of the gatherings in the Deutsches Haus were merely social affairs. Everyone at the Deutsches Haus liked Hitler. Ellis O. Jones sometimes distributed buttons of the *National Copperheads* at the place.

Mrs. McBride denied ever having seen Bund uniforms at the Deutsches Haus. She is acquainted with Hans Diebel, F. K. Ferenz, but did not recognize the names of San Diego Bundsmen. She met Wilhelm Kunze at the Deutsches Haus in the Fall of 1941. She claimed that she did not know who he was at the time.

She informed the committee, at the conclusion of her testimony, that most of her friends believed she was "wearing herself out" attending so many meetings.

John L. Riemer was born in Danzig, Germany in 1887. (Volume IV, pp. 1070-1079.) He came to the United States in 1909 and was naturalized in 1915. He has lived in southern California since 1911 with the exception of a few months. He operates the *National Book Mart* located at 1625 Fifth Avenue in the City of Los Angeles and sells books printed in German and in English.

He admitted knowing Herman Max Schwinn for six or seven years. He was acquainted with Hans Diebel and his *Aryan Book Store*. He claimed that he did not sell the same type of literature in the *National Book Mart* as that sold by Diebel.

He denied being a member of the *German-American Bund* and stated that he had never been a member of the *Friends of New Germany*. He claimed that he was not in sympathy with the principles of the Bund. He subscribed to the *California Staats-Zeitung*.

He stated that he attempted to organize the *American Labor Party* in 1933 and that after four months of effort he had "one member and three stool pigeons" (p. 1078). He wrote one article on civil liberties for the *California Staats-Zeitung*. He was a member of the Turner Society and wrote on the health benefits to be derived from Turnerism.

Harold A. Sparling was born in Chillicothe, Missouri, and has lived in California for 11 years (Volume III, pp. 714-744). He stated that he was in business for himself and designated such business as "personal service." He ran for Congress on the Republican ticket in the Seventeenth District in the primaries of August, 1940, and again in 1942. He stated that he had been speaking and holding meetings throughout the State in an attempt to keep America out of war and to expose the "Communist-Bolsheviks" for the last two or three years.

He admitted having visited the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles three or four times, and being acquainted with Herman Max Schwinn, Hans Diebel, F. K. Ferenz and others.

Baron Frederick Van Meter appeared before the committee October 16, 1941, wearing buttons of the *America First Committee*, *National Youth Farm Foundation* and the *Fisher Body Guild*. (Volume IV, pp. 989-1014.) He met Herman Max Schwinn in 1938 at the Deutsches Haus. He also admitted knowing Hans Diebel and met him at about the same time he first met Herman Max Schwinn. He had obtained "literature of enlightenment" from Hans Diebel's *Aryan Book Store*. He remembered seeing copies of *Mein Kampf* at Diebel's place of business and recalled that it had a swastika printed upon it. He met Emil Lodahl in August or September of 1938 and is also acquainted with F. K. Ferenz.

He denied ever having been a member of the *German-American Bund*. He admitted picketing the Wendell Willkie meeting at the Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles and identified pictures of himself, and his brothers, William and Daniel, carrying banners. He related the organization of the *National Patriots* which he stated was created by Emil Lodahl as an opposition group to the Communist *American Students Union*. Van Meter admitted printing papers for Lodahl's *National Patriots* and stated that his home address was used as the headquarters for the Lodahl organization.

He admitted having seen propaganda motion pictures at the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles and recalled a picture of the invasion of Poland. He is acquainted with James McBride but denied ever having seen him in a Bund uniform. He likewise was acquainted with Mrs. Joan McBride. He recalled seeing the swastika flag at the Deutsches Haus on Hitler's birthday. He ventured that Horst Wessel was a German martyr. He identified pictures taken in Herman Max Schwinn's office in the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles. He stated that

the *German-American Business League* owns Hindenburg Park in Los Angeles. Although he stated he was not a subscriber to *Free American*, he knew that it was a publication of the *German-American Bund*. He stated that the "O. D." groups in the Bund no longer wore uniforms. He was well acquainted with the salute and "Seig Heil," ("Heil Victory").

Baron Frederick Van Meter refused to commit himself on the Jewish question.

Daniel Elias Van Meter appeared before your committee February 24, 1942, wearing a green button. (Volume IX, pp. 2815-2824.) Upon being questioned concerning the button, he smirked that it was the emblem of the *Pink Dragons* and that it represented a "personal group." He facetiously remarked that the badge was green "just to fool them," indicating the committee. He said the *Pink Dragons* organization was composed of but three members, Ellis O. Jones, Robert Noble and himself. He explained with mock seriousness that the *Pink Dragons* was a pension movement and that it was not to be confused with the *Black Dragon Society* of the Japanese. He wished to assure the committee that he was not a Nazi agent as had been claimed by the newspapers.

Daniel Elias Van Meter met Herman Max Schwinn and Hans Diebel in 1938. He knew that Hans Diebel operated the *Aryan Book Store* in the Deutsches Haus and admitted having been in the headquarters of the *German-American Bund* in Los Angeles on a number of occasions. He had been acquainted with F. K. Ferenz during the past year and admitted knowing Ellis O. Jones and Robert Noble for some eight months. He also was acquainted with Joan and James McBride.

He claimed that he never belonged to the *German-American Bund*. He admitted having heard Wilhelm Kunze speak but added that he did not know who Kunze was. He denied that he had ever worn a two-inch swastika badge, or that he had ever warned individuals to take off *I Am An American* buttons.

James Adams Van Meter appeared before the committee October 16, 1941, wearing a button of the *National Copperheads*. (Volume IV, pp. 1014-1023, 1061.) He admitted frequenting the Deutsches Haus but denied that he had ever affiliated with the *German-American Bund*. He had seen uniforms worn in the Deutsches Haus and had observed arm bands with the swastika in a sunburst and the letters "O. D." on them. He believed that the letters "O. D." stood for "Order Division" because the men who wore the uniforms with this arm band kept order in the meetings; acted as ushers. He identified pictures of Arno Risse, Willi Kendzia, Hans Diebel and Herman Max Schwinn.

Harry R. Bridges testified in San Francisco that before Pearl Harbor, longshoremen unloading boats in the San Francisco Bay area, noticed German officers leaving a German boat in uniform. (Volume XIII, pp. 3594-3618.) He said that they also saw Storm Troopers, in full regalia, leave German boats and go ashore. He claimed that he assigned longshoremen to trail the Storm Troopers and that they were followed to the German House in San Francisco and that these officers and Strom Troopers visited the German House regularly and contacted various persons there. He said these activities began in about 1935 or 1936 and stopped shortly after Germany's declaration of war with

England. Bridges claimed that he kept a complete set of notes on these activities.

The *German-American Bund* had extended its organization to San Diego. Its activities in this area had not been quite so open and brazen as in Los Angeles, but there are many indications that its work was more effective in many ways. It appears that the meetings held in Mission Valley were of considerable significance, in that sailors from German ships met there from time to time with National officers of the Bund, Herman Max Schwinn and others. These meetings, disguised as social affairs, picnics, etc., obviously presented designed opportunities for the delivery of important instructions to Bund Fuehrers in the United States direct from Dr. Goebbels in Berlin.

William P. Bauer (father of Hans Bauer of Los Angeles), was the Fuehrer of the local unit of the *German-American Bund* in the City of San Diego. (Volume VIII, pp. 2330-2349.) He was born in Germany in 1876, came to the United States in 1906 and was granted citizenship in San Diego in 1913. He joined the *Friends of New Germany* in 1934. He met Herman Max Schwinn at about this time and claimed that he knew Hans Diebel "slightly."

When the unit of the *German-American Bund* was organized in San Diego, Bauer was appointed its Fuehrer by Herman Max Schwinn, who was then the leader of the western division of the organization.

The San Diego Unit of the Bund, according to Bauer, never used uniforms, but he admitted having seen uniformed members at meetings of the Los Angeles Unit in Hindenburg Park in Los Angeles.

Bauer, as Fuehrer of the San Diego Unit of the *German-American Bund*, received instructions from Fritz Kuhn in New York about every six months. He stated that he only carried them out partially. He declared that he personally never believed in uniforms.

The official publication of the *German-American Bund* is the *Weckruf*. When Bauer testified, February 20, 1942, he stated that he had not seen a copy of the *Weckruf* in about two months.

He met Wilhelm Kunze at social functions in the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles in 1936 and 1937 and he was aware that Fritz Kuhn had been Kunze's predecessor as National Fuehrer of the organization. He likewise was acquainted with F. K. Ferenz and stated that Ferenz formerly came to San Diego to exhibit motion pictures—German pictures. He admitted having seen *Seig Im Western*, a German picture shown by Ferenz in San Diego. He had last seen Wilhelm Kunze at a social gathering in Mission Valley in 1941. The "social gathering" was at the home of a Mr. Emil B. Mehl. He had not seen Schwinn or Diebel for about a year at the time of testifying.

Bauer said he had severed his connections with the Bund because he felt that the American public was not yet ready for such an organization. A John Lutz, now in Germany, was formerly the secretary of the San Diego Unit and Karl August Heuschele became the secretary of the unit when Lutz went to Germany. Bauer admitted that Lutz kept the unit's records and distributed literature, some of which was officially printed in Germany.

Bauer was acquainted with Dr. George Gyssling, former German consul in Los Angeles, and admitted that he had met him for the first

time six or seven years previous and that the acquaintance continued until Gyssling left for Germany.

It was reported that Bauer had stated that he would never have a son of his fight for the United States. He denied making this statement.

Bauer was a civil engineer and was employed as an inspector in the city engineer's office for the City of San Diego. Some time after he testified he was removed from this office.

Karl August Heuschele had been subpoenaed for the committee's public hearing in San Diego. He did not respond in person to the subpoena, but sent the committee a letter stating that he was ill and unable to leave his home. This was accompanied by a letter from a chiropractor corroborating Mr. Hueschele's excuse. Because of Heuschele's importance as secretary of the *German-American Bund* Unit in San Diego, your committee decided to examine him at his home. On February 21, 1942, the members of the committee, together with its official reporter, drove to 1365 Rosecrans Boulevard on Point Loma to Heuschele's home. The Heuschele residence occupied an extremely strategic position. It overlooked the Naval Training Station, the Marine Base, North Island Air Base and the submarine boom or net which guards the entrance to San Diego Harbor. All of these important positions were easily seen from Heuschele's bedroom window and from the area immediately adjacent to the house.

Mrs. Heuschele, a German alien, refused to admit photographers, and Mr. Culver Herrin, the photographer, busied himself outside taking pictures of everything visible from the vicinity of the house. During the taking of Heuschele's testimony, the members of the committee could see the Navy's heliograph flashing signals and a troop transport loading. Every incoming and outgoing troopship sailed within easy observation of the Heuschele residence.

Heuschele was born in Ossweil, Germany, a suburb of Ludwigshafen, in 1905. (Volume VIII, pp. 2465-2488.) He came to the United States in 1930 and resided in Rochester, New York. He had resided in San Diego 10 years. He stated that he is a landscape gardener by profession and that prior to taking up this occupation he had been a mechanic. He had occupied the residence on Point Loma for two and a half years together with his wife and his 12-year-old son. He admitted that his son had attended the summer camp for youths at Hindenburg Park, near Glendale. He admitted having several brothers and sisters, five of the brothers still living in Germany.

He affiliated with the *Friends of New Germany* in 1935 and became a member of the *German-American Bund* when the latter organization took over the *Friends of New Germany*. Herman Max Schwinn, Hans Diebel and others came down from Los Angeles for the organization of the San Diego Unit. William P. Bauer became the Fuehrer, but Heuschele's memory was faulty in reference to the identity of other members. He stated: "There were so many and it's been so long ago." The meetings of the San Diego Unit were "unregular." Ferenz came down from Los Angeles from time to time and showed 16-millimeter German films in San Diego's Hollywood Theatre.

Heuschele was acquainted with Herman Max Schwinn, Hans Diebel, F. K. Ferenz, Frank Muehlke, Emil Mehl, Max Grau, John Lutz, R. Schoenber, Ferdinand Bethol and Helene Rheinheimer.

He stated that he had not visited Germany since coming to the United States. He claimed that he had heard nothing from his family in Germany for eight years and that Mrs. Hueschele had not heard from her family for eight months.

Max Grau, of Consular Gyssling's office in Los Angeles, had ordered a wreath of flowers for a German seaman who was buried in the Mission Cemetery, and it appeared that Hueschele had received much of this type of business.

He had charge of the Bund records for a short time after John Lutz returned to Germany. He admitted receiving a letter from Schwinn asking for the records. Schwinn later came to San Diego and to Hueschele's home and secured them. He sent dues collected in San Diego to the New York headquarters about once a month and sometimes every two months. He stated he had had an argument with Wilhelm Kunze at Emil Mehl's home in Mission Valley over the embezzlement of funds by Kuhn. Pamphlets were sent out monthly from the East but he "never paid much attention" to them. He received detailed instructions regarding the conduct of Bund affairs from time to time. Schwinn took these instructions and pamphlets away with him when he took the records.

He attended meetings at the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles from time to time and admitted having seen the uniformed "O. D." guards in attendance there and believed that there were probably 15 or 20 of them. He believed that the uniformed group was used to protect meetings against demonstrations such as he claims he saw in Germany before coming to the United States. Violence in Germany was one of his reasons for leaving that country. He stated he had seen Communists throw men out of windows in meetings of the Good Templars in Germany. He stated that one of his brothers in Germany was a Communist and that this fact had created a very bad situation in his family.

He stated that the Bund records had been kept in a journal and that some of the Bund meetings were conducted in German.

According to Heuschele the members of the Bund in San Diego did not "Heil Hitler" but merely used the salutation, "Heil!" He admitted having once had a picture of Hitler in his home but stated that he had burned it. He had once loaned it to the German House in Balboa Park where Bund affairs were sometimes held. The Horst Wessel song was sung in San Diego when Gyssling visited the Bund in 1935.

The membership fee in the San Diego Bund Unit was 75 cents and the monthly dues were also 75 cents. Most of this money, collected by the San Diego Unit, was sent to New York in printed envelopes which were supplied by the National organization and addressed to the *German-American Bund*. At the time of testifying, Hueschele claimed there were no regular meetings of the Bund being held in San Diego. He stated that he had broken with the organization and added that he "broke up with everything."

He admitted having attended a dinner at the home of Helene Rheinheimer which was held for the German sailors who had scuttled the *S. S. Columbia*.

He stated that he purchased his home from a man named Merryweather, a retired Navy captain. Although he at first denied knowing any Japanese or dealing with any of them in the floral business, he finally admitted that he did have business contacts with some of them and that he bought flowers from them on occasion.

He read the *Weckruf* and admitted that it was sent to all Bund members, although it was not sent out regularly.

He had received a pass to Fort Rosecrans and made floral deliveries there from time to time. This pass was canceled after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

After the San Diego and California papers carried the substance of Heuschele's testimony, the Heuscheles were removed from their strategic position on Point Loma. A considerable quantity of incriminating evidence was later discovered in the house.

Emil B. Mehl was born in Grossbart Mannsdorf, Germany, in 1885. (Volume VIII, pp. 2399-2407.) He was naturalized in San Diego in 1928 and has lived in Mission Valley, near the City of San Diego, for 30 years. He had never been a member of the *Friends of New Germany* but joined the *German-American Bund* five or six years before appearing before the committee. He joined at a social affair which had been arranged by William P. Bauer, the Fuehrer of the San Diego Unit. He had never held an official position in the Bund unit. He did hold social affairs at his home in Mission Valley from time to time for the members of the Bund. His wife had received a picture post card of Hitler from Germany and this was the only picture of Hitler, he stated, that he had ever displayed in his home. He had a sister in Germany but had not heard from her in a long time. A nephew of his wife was in the German air corps. He received the *Weckruf*.

Mehl admitted having attended a party in Mrs. Rheinheimer's home which was given for the purpose of raising funds for the German sailors who had scuttled the *S. S. Columbia* and who were being interned in New Mexico. He admitted attending similar functions at the home of Mr. Graf. He admitted that part of the crew of the German cruiser, *Karlsruhe*, visited his home. He claimed that they merely came "to drink beer."

He stated that he joined the *German-American Bund* to offset the boycott of German goods and "to bring about better relations" with Germany.

He admitted that Wilhelm Kunze visited at his home in Mission Valley. He had met Herman Max Schwinn at a German Day celebration at Germania Hall and later when he held a picnic at his place in Mission Valley. He stated that he "saw" only Hans Diebel and F. K. Ferenz, although he admitted seeing the motion pictures shown by Ferenz in San Diego.

He concluded his testimony by stating that he "paid no attention" to the Jewish situation in the United States. He said that the *German-American Bund* had "dissolved itself" in San Diego and that his activi-

ties had ceased at that time. He then contradicted himself and said he got out of the organization before it was dissolved.

Frank Muehlke was born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1900. (Volume VIII, pp. 2378-2396.) He came to New York in 1926 and was naturalized in San Diego in 1935 and has lived there ever since. He affiliated with the *German-American Bund* in 1937 and after John Lutz went to Germany, became the secretary of the San Diego Unit until Hueschele took over these duties in 1939. He stated that the Bund was not very active and that he resigned from it in the Fall of 1939.

It is interesting to note that Muehlke was an aircraft worker at the Langley Instrument Company in the City of San Diego when your committee subpeneaed him to testify February 20, 1942.

Muehlke admitted having met Wilhelm Kunze and having heard Fritz Kuhn deliver a speech at Hindenburg Park. He admitted having attended one meeting at the Deutsches Haus in the City of Los Angeles. He knew Herman Max Schwinn, Hans Diebel, F. K. Ferenz and Mrs. Helen Rheinheimer, and others.

He spent four months in Germany just prior to the outbreak of war. He claimed that he did not meet any of the officials of the German Government.

Dr. George Gyssling, German Consul, from Los Angeles, delivered a speech at Germania Hall on German Day in the City of San Diego when Muehlke was present.

He admitted reading *Weckruf* "once in a while." He denied ever having bought any books at the *Aryan Book Store* in Los Angeles and stated that he "never did agree with it much—with the idea of distributing some of the stuff which amounted maybe more or less to propaganda" (p. 2381). He stated that "some of the stuff \* \* \* was not very appealing to Christian men." He stated that the reason he quit the Bund was because he didn't like the idea of being "fanatic." He stated that he joined the Bund to build up good will between this country and Germany and came to the conclusion that the Bund was not furthering that end.

He admitted attending the dinner given in the home of Mrs. Rheinheimer in San Diego for the purpose of raising funds for the relief of the crew personnel of the *S. S. Columbia*, a German vessel which the German sailors had attempted to scuttle and which was interned. He recalled that there were 20 or 25 people present at that dinner. He stated that he met Mrs. Rheinheimer "through German activities." He admitted that the Germans held several such dinners to raise funds for the internees and recalled the dinner at Mr. Graf's home and one at Oberhoff's. He stated that he paid 50 cents or \$1 for these dinners and that they did not take up collections.

He stated that the *German-American Bund* Unit in San Diego met very irregularly while he was a member and that it did not have a women's auxiliary.

He admitted sending his children to the *German-American Bund* camp in Glendale in the Summer of 1939. He added that he later discovered the camp was connected with the Bund.

He recalled, under questioning, a sale held in the German House in Balboa Park, San Diego, for the purpose of raising money for German

citizens in the custody of the United States. He recalled one Bund meeting held in the Hawthorne Hall, San Diego.

He stated that (p. 2391) when he "went to Germany" he was suspicious of the Hitler regime just like everybody else in the United States. "When I was there," he continued, "I discovered that Hitler had done lots of things for the people, so I did not go with any sort of prejudice \* \* \*." He traveled through Germany for four and one-half months. He stated that he had no close relatives in Germany although his wife has a brother in the Nazi Army.

Muehlke stated that he was against war and against persecution. He regretted that President Wilson had not succeeded in his aims at the end of the last war.

He concluded his testimony by stating: "This country comes first; it is the country of my children. I want to live up to my citizenship (pledge)." He stated that he would fight for the United States against Germany. He turned the records of the Bund over to Heuschele when Heuschele became the San Diego Unit Secretary. He stated that there was a book in which the names and the dues of the members were recorded.

Muehlke left the Consolidated Aircraft in January of 1941 and has been employed by the Langley Instrument and Machine Company, a subcontractor of Consolidated, since that time.

John G. Buerkle was a volunteer witness on Nazi activities in the City of San Diego. (Volume VIII, pp. 2396-2399.) He was formerly a tuna packer and at the time of testifying was a real estate operator. He stated that an apartment house, owned by Richard Schoenborn in the City of San Diego, had been a rendezvous for Germans and members of the Bund. He stated that Von Buelow was one of the frequent visitors at this place. He claimed that they were "just Nazis." He believed that Schoenborn had made a trip to Germany in 1940 and that he had been gone about four months.

C. Leon de Aryan, editor of *The Broom*, a publication in San Diego, met F. K. Ferenz in Los Angeles at a meeting of the *Friends of Progress*. He met Herman Max Schwinn in San Diego in 1938 or 1939 and Hans Diebel at about the same time. He has been a visitor at the Deutsches Haus and has attended functions in Hindenburg Park in Los Angeles. At the time of testifying, February 19, 1942, de Aryan stated that he had known William P. Bauer for three or four years and Frank Muelke and Karl August Heuschele for about the same period of time. He admitted that he had attended two Bund meetings. He was present on one occasion when, according to his testimony, a number of newspaper reporters and representatives of the American Legion were present. At this Bund meeting, he alleged, the Communists attempted to create a commotion. The meeting was held in the Hard of Hearing Hall. de Aryan claimed that he took the platform and "talked the Communists out of it" (p. 2291). de Aryan believed that the Bund members in San Diego were "decent fellows" but expressed doubts about some of the Los Angeles members. He was also acquainted with Hans F. Bauer of Los Angeles and Henry D. Allen of Pasadena and had met Faith McCullough.

## NAZI PROPAGANDA AND ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA

Franz K. Ferenz was a hostile witness. He was subpoenaed and testified October 17, 1941. (Volume IV, pp. 1152-1174.) He had been one of the most active Nazi propagandists in southern California. He posed as an exhibitor of foreign language films and conducted the *Continental Book Store* located at 2509 W. Seventh Street in the City of Los Angeles. He was the publisher of a book entitled *Hitler* (1934), which was a collection of favorable propaganda essays concerning the Fuehrer.

Ferenz was born in Vienna, Austria, and came to the United States in October, 1914. He became a citizen almost immediately.

One of the essays on Hitler used in Ferenz's book was written by George Sylvester Viereck. Ferenz claimed that he did not know Viereck. The preface of the work by Ferenz was for the purpose of acquainting the American people with the facts concerning Germany's new leader, Adolf Hitler, and the program and achievements of the *National Socialist Party*. The hooked cross—the swastika—was printed on the cover of the book.

Ferenz denied having been the distributor of the anti-Semitic film *Kosher Slaughter*. He was questioned concerning the cancellation of his lease for the Mason Opera House in Los Angeles by Peter Riccardi. The Findings of Fact in the Los Angeles Superior Court Civil Case Number 456927, *F. K. Ferenz vs. Peter Riccardi* (Volume IV, pp. 1162-1165) was introduced for examination by the members of the committee and it was found that Ferenz had attracted Nazi sympathizers to the theater and had aroused racial hatred and prejudice.

He knew of the *Kaven Travel Service* located at 4465 Hollywood Boulevard in Los Angeles and stated that it was a travel bureau and food package concern. He admitted carrying advertising for this firm on his screen at the Mason Opera House. He also was acquainted with the Food Package Service of H. F. Bauer. He was familiar with *Facts in Review*, Nazi propaganda publication in the United States. He claimed that he did not subscribe or take subscriptions for it.

He admitted having visited the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles but could not recall having seen any of the Bund members in uniform and stated that he did not know of any secret meetings having ever been held there. He stated (p. 1173) that "Germany has never had a better man (than Hitler)."

George Ernest Martens was born in eastern Silesia, in Breslau, Germany. He came to the United States in 1907, became a citizen and resided in Los Angeles for 26 years. (Volume IV, pp. 909-918.) He was the editor of the *California Staats-Zeitung*. He testified that the *German-American Bund* was a continuation of the *Friends of New Germany*. The Bund continued to publish the *California Weckruf*.

He related demands on part of the Los Angeles Bund for an announcement of a boycott of the Jews by the *Staats-Zeitung* and stated that he refused. He claimed that the Bund then published an attack on him, as editor, in the *Weckruf* and that it also attacked the *Staats-Zeitung*. He stated that this attack was written by Dr.

Konrad Bucardi. Bucardi had held a prominent position in the *Friends of New Germany*.

He stated that the German Government had issued a decree providing that German citizens could not retain membership in the *Friends of New Germany* and that the name of the organization was then changed to the *German-American Bund*. He testified that the German Government had issued a second decree forbidding membership in the *Bund*.

Martens knew F. K. Ferenz and was acquainted with his activities in exhibiting German pictures. He stated that he had never been in the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles and was not aware of Nazi propaganda in the pictures shown by Ferenz. He was acquainted with Hans F. Bauer for some five or six years.

The *California Staats-Zeitung*, German language newspaper in Los Angeles, enjoyed a circulation of between ten to twelve thousand at the time Edward Stuetz testified before the committee. (Volume III, pp. 861-885.) Stuetz had known Herman Max Schwinn since 1928 when Schwinn was employed as a clerk at the *German-American Savings Bank*. He had known F. K. Ferenz for 10 or more years, and also was acquainted with Hans Wolfran, Dr. George Gyssling, the German Consul, Helen Entermann, Hans F. Bauer, Kurt Zimmer and John L. Riemer. He admitted seeing German pictures exhibited from time to time by Ferenz.

Hans F. Bauer, according to Stuetz, advertised in the *Staats-Zeitung* for a considerable period of time. He knew that he represented *Fortra, Inc.* Stuetz had known John L. Riemer for several years and stated that he had been a subscriber to the *Staats-Zeitung*. He believed that Kurt Zimmer was a member of the *German-American Bund* in Los Angeles.

Stuetz denied that he had ever been a member of the *German-American Bund* or that he was connected with it in any way. He accused Schwinn and the *German-American Bund* unit in Los Angeles of attempting to ruin the *Staats-Zeitung*. He admitted that the *Staats-Zeitung* received the propaganda bulletins of *Trans-Ocean Service* by mail but denied any acquaintance with those in charge of the New York office of this service. He obviously used material from the *Trans-Ocean Service* and admitted using articles from German newspapers.

Stuetz described the *German-American Alliance* and stated that it was composed of representatives from all German societies; that is, each society sent delegates to the *German-American Alliance* meetings. He admitted being a delegate to the alliance from the *Sons of Herman*. He admitted that the *German-American Bund* in Los Angeles exercised great influence over the *German-American Alliance*. Herman Max Schwinn was one of the delegates from the *Bund* unit. Stuetz stated that because of the disruptive tactics of *Bund* delegates pressure was exerted by other delegates and they were forced to resign. Helen Entermann was the Secretary for the *German-American Alliance* and Stuetz stated that the alliance owned Hindenburg Park in Los Angeles.

Hans F. Bauer is the son of William P. Bauer, the Fuehrer of the San Diego Unit of the *German-American Bund*. At the time of testifying he was still engaged in sending food packages to foreign coun-

tries, notably Germany. He was born in Keil, Germany, and admitted having made a trip to the Third Reich in 1937, visiting Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin and other cities. He was formerly employed by the *North German Lloyd Steamship Company*, the Hamburg Lines, and then became the agent for *Gatraco Corporation* and *Fortra, Inc.*, in the shipping of packages to foreign countries. While Bauer denied ever being affiliated with the *German-American Bund* (Volume IV, pp. 919-935), he admitted visiting the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles and knowing Herman Max Schwinn since 1929. He also was acquainted with Hans Diebel, Max Socha, Dr. Gyssling, F. K. Ferenz and others. He subscribed to the *California Staats-Zeitung*. He admitted owning a 16-millimeter motion picture projection machine and that an anti-Semitic motion picture, *Kosher Slaughter*, was run on this machine (or one he borrowed) October 12, 1938, at the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles.

Espionage agents of the Third Reich found cooperation and sympathy in certain quarters in California. Men, such as Prince Sur Lippe Weissenfeld, Werner Plact and others, working through the consular offices in Los Angeles and San Francisco found little trouble in gaining entrance into social circles in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Palm Springs. The net results achieved by these agents of Hitler will probably not be thoroughly tallied until the end of the war.

David Baxter of San Bernardino struck up an acquaintance with Prince Sur Lippe Weissenfeld when Weissenfeld was a student at the University of Southern California in 1939. Baxter read some of Weissenfeld's writings and struck up a correspondence with him during the time that Baxter was an editor of a newspaper at Twenty-nine Palms. A dinner was given for Weissenfeld at Twenty-nine Palms and Baxter invited him to come down as "quite a number of local citizens were interested in hearing the German viewpoint on this war." (Volume X, pp. 2991-2996.) Weissenfeld, according to Baxter, was, at the time Baxter testified, in the Nazi *Luftwaffe* and was alleged to have shot down 67 British planes over Tobruk. Weissenfeld was connected with the German Consulate in San Francisco under Fritz Weidemann. Baxter maintained his acquaintance with Weissenfeld until Weissenfeld left for Germany in 1940. He had dinner with Weissenfeld at the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles and visited him at his home in Redondo Beach. Weissenfeld introduced Baxter to Herman Max Schwinn. Although contending that he had no sympathy for the *German-American Bund* and claiming that he considered it subversive, he, nevertheless, admitted that he visited the "German House" on several occasions after first dining there with Weissenfeld.

G. Allison Phelps, also known as G. Allison, has for many years been broadcasting over various Los Angeles radio stations. He has been definitely anti-British and anti-Jewish in his broadcasts and writings. He is reported as having advertised the sale of a book published by *Flanders Hall*, which was allegedly financed by George Sylvester Vierick, entitled *We Must Save the Republic*. George Sylvester Vierick was registered under the McCormick Act as a German propaganda agent. On September 24, 1941, Pearson and Allen described G. Allison Phelps as a "front man" for Russell Mack, a former scenario writer,

who visited Germany in 1939 and returned to Hollywood to collaborate with Phelps in a scathing attack on the motion picture industry.

Phelps was reported as a frequent speaker at *America First Committee* meetings and allegedly advertised the meetings of the organization in his radio programs.

He was subpoenaed and testified March 26, 1942, in Los Angeles. (Volume X, pp. 3048-3071.) He was born in New Hampshire and has been a radio-commentator in southern California for 18 years. He is the author of six books, one of which was being sold currently. He testified that he had financed himself through the sale of books and booklets, and that former broadcasts had been financed by sponsors.

He admitted that he had instituted a campaign against alleged abuses in Hollywood in connection with the motion picture industry and stated that he had commenced this work in the Summer of 1940 and continued it until the Fall of 1941. He stated that he started this work when he learned of people being discharged in the motion picture industry to make room for refugees. He made an investigation of the aliens working in the motion picture industry, "taking jobs of American citizens," and put out booklets on this subject. One of these booklets was entitled *An Appeal to Americans* and contained an article entitled *The Tower of Babel*. He stated that he later wrote a pamphlet, *An American History of Hollywood*. He believed that the Communists were being assisted in southern California by certain people in the motion picture industry.

He related the circumstances surrounding a banquet which was given in the latter part of 1940 for Lion Feuchtwanger, author of *Moscow, 1937*. He claimed that he had quoted from Feuchtwanger's book over the air and had called his listeners' attention to the fact that the various motion picture "bigwigs" were feeding Feuchtwanger at the *Beverly Wilshire Hotel* and collecting more money in order to bring such writers to Hollywood. He stated that he believed this to be a very dangerous thing. He was anti-Communist and felt very strongly concerning this subject. He had made an investigation of Communism in Hollywood and once refused to join the *Anti-Nazi League* because he believed it to be a Communist front.

He denied ever having been a member of the *America First Committee*, though he had spoken at their meetings. He knew nothing of the *League to Save America First* or of the activities of T. W. Hughes. He admitted announcing meetings of the *America First Committee* on his radio broadcasts and stated that he had done so at the request of William Hunt, who was the chairman of the Glendale chapter.

He admitted knowing Mrs. Frances Sherrill, the president of the *National League of Mothers of America* and admitted having attended one of the meetings of this organization.

He made a trip to Washington around the first of November of 1941 and claimed that the purpose of the trip was to confer with certain Senators concerning "*Union Now*" with Britain. He stated that he financed his own trip from the sale of his books and pamphlets. While in Washington, he conferred with Senators Nye, Robert Rice Reynolds and Tobey. He made two trips to Washington in the year of 1941. He conferred with a number of Senators and Congressmen on both trips. He knew that Congressman Stephen A. Day had written a book

entitled *Save the Republic* and admitted that he had mentioned it on his broadcasts. He denied having received financial remuneration for mentioning the book and believed it to be "good reading." He stated that he did not know that part of the book had been written by George Sylvester Viereck. He admitted having advertised Senator Reynolds' publication, *The Vindicator*, on several of his programs. He likewise admitted that Father Coughlin had reprinted part of a speech made by him but he stated that it was without his permission.

Phelps denied that he had ever affiliated with the *Ku Klux Klan*, although he knew Kleagle William H. Sahli. He had met Dr. Sahli at a meeting of the *America First Committee* and Sahli had confided to him that he was a member of the *Ku Klux Klan*.

Phelps stated that he had founded the *American Enterprise Foundation* in order to secure jobs for American citizens in preference to aliens.

He admitted knowing Russell Mack and stated that he met Mack and his wife, Bobette, in 1940. He disclaimed knowledge of Mack's trip to Germany other than being aware that he had made the trip. He had read allegations concerning Mack visiting Nazi officials. He stated that he discussed the matter with him and was told that Mack had conferred with motion picture people in Germany. He denied that Mack had ever collaborated in the writing of his broadcasts. He stated that he sometimes talked with him over the telephone regarding material to be used in his broadcasts and that Mack had supplied him with some statistics which he had used in his book *The American History of Hollywood*. Mack gave him checks, and he claimed that they were in payment for booklets and books Mack had purchased. He explained the photostatic copies of checks signed by Mack in the possession of the committee in amounts of \$50 and \$100 as being payment for 200 and 400 copies, respectively, of *An Appeal to Americans*, at 25 cents each. He said copies of *The American History of Hollywood* had been mailed to the members of the California Legislature and that Mack had bought them and financed the mailing of them.

He stated that the Jewish names in his writings concerning Hollywood were included merely because the individuals were motion picture industrialists, actors, etc., and denied that it was because they were Jewish. He pointed out that he included Irish names as well.

John L. Riemer operated the *National Book Mart* and distributed literature of a definite subversive character. He was the organizer of the *American Labor Party* (not to be confused with the New York organization of the same name). Riemer's *American Labor Party* advocated the abolition of labor unions. The anthem of the *American Labor Party* is *A Voice Resounds Like Thunder-Peal* which was allegedly written by John L. Riemer himself. The substitution of American names for German names is the only difference between *A Voice Resounds Like Thunder-Peal* and *Die Wacht am Rhein*. Riemer testified before the McCormack Committee and indicated that a German Consulate had paid \$215 for printing part of the literature he had sent out from Los Angeles during 1941.

Riemer distributed T. W. Hughes' anti-British pamphlet, *The Truth About England*, through the *National Book Mart* as well as F. K. Ferenz' propaganda book on Hitler. He likewise advertised *America*

*First Committee* meetings in connection with the distribution of his own literature.

He objected to being photographed when testifying October 16, 1941. (Volume IV, pp. 1070-1079.) He was born in Danzig, Germany, in 1887 and came to the United States in 1909. He was naturalized in 1915 and has resided in Southern California since 1911, with the exception of a few months.

He admitted selling books at the *National Book Mart* in both the English and German languages.

He had known Herman Max Schwinn for some six or seven years, Hans Diebel and others. He stated that the *Aryan Book Shop*, operated by Hans Diebel, did not sell the same type of literature as he sold at the *National Book Mart*.

He denied being a member of the *German-American Alliance*, the *German-American Bund* or of the *Friends of New Germany* and claimed that he was not in sympathy with the principles of the Bund. He admitted being a member of the *America First Committee* and having signed a membership card. In addition, he was a member of the Turner Society and had written on the health benefits of Turnerism.

He admitted having attempted to organize the *American Labor Party* in 1933 and stated that after four months' effort he had "one member and three stool pigeons."

Mrs. Edith Marion Shol (Mrs. David Shol) testified that she was a printer and that she had resided in Southern California for 20 years, engaged in the printing business. (Volume X, pp. 2890-2899.) She admitted having done considerable printing for various organizations under investigation by the committee. She admitted printing stickers "War is a Racket," for the *National Legion of Mothers of America* and said they were ordered by a Mr. Nimms. She admitted having known G. Allison Phelps for six or seven years and having printed pamphlets for him, such as *An Appeal to Free Americans*. She has printed for the *Ku Klux Klan* for two or three years. She stated that the Klan had last ordered 10,000 membership cards, took 1,000 of them and that she hadn't seen any of the Klansmen for quite a while. The membership cards were ordered by a man by the name of Harvey (or Hervey) of Alhambra. She also was acquainted with a Klansman by the name of Anderson. *American Freedom* was a publication put out several years ago by Mrs. Shol herself. She stated that it had been her intent to start a patriotic organization to sponsor the magazine. Philander K. Bush was to have handled the funds. William P. Williams was a member of the organization she hoped to build around *American Freedom*. She stated that the organization only lasted a few months and that she had published the magazine herself.

She had met Ellis O. Jones when he came to her printing plant and asked for an estimate on a printing job. He had declared that the estimate was "too high" and therefore did not order. She was acquainted with the Van Meter brothers. She denied ever having done any printing for the *America First Committee*.

**ANTI-SEMITISM**

Race superiority and anti-Semitism constitute important pillars in Nazi philosophy. Hatred against the Jewish people is the spear-head of Nazi penetration—a softening-solvent for panzer divisions and collaboration with the *New Order*. This psychological assault is usually employed by the Nazis with the Communist “threat.” One of the most malicious techniques of Dr. Goebbels’ agents, used with great success in Europe and still being used in the United States, is to tie the Jews and the Communists together, making it appear that “Jew” and “Communist” are synonymous. Thus, crafty Nazi psychologists, utilizing the natural antipathy held by all nationals against the sneaking subversivists of the Kremlin hope to direct this same antagonism against the Jewish people—for the greater part, the staunchist element in support of *real* democracy. It is certainly unnecessary to point out that citizens of the Jewish race are no more susceptible to Communism than are the people of other races. The Communist Party itself does not hesitate to attack the Jews of the United States when they find citizens of this race boldly antagonistic to Communist intrigue and conspiracy against the Government. Whoever attacks Communism in support of the United States Constitution, its traditions and Americanism, whether he be Jew or Gentile, is in for seurrilous and filthy lambasting from the comrades and the Communist press. George Seldes’ *In Fact* for January 18, 1943, refers to Louis B. Mayer, motion picture producer, as a “Jewish Fascist,” because, Mr. Mayer in his Americanism, had the courage to produce several plays exposing the nefarious activities of Stalin’s stooges. To call Mr. Mayer a “Jewish Fascist” is, of course, about as logical as calling Hitler a “Nazi-Democrat.”

Certainly there is no place in American Democracy for dispensers of racial prejudice and hatred. A personal quarrel or difference with an Englishman, a Jew or an individual of any particular nationality is no excuse for an all-out attack on the race or nationality represented by the individual. Anti-Semitism and organized race-prejudice is as un-American and as subversive as are Naziism and Communism.

The committee has been primarily interested during its investigations of Nazi activities in California in the success of our war effort and in combating the efforts of fifth columnists on the home front who attempt to succor and strengthen the totalitarian hordes which would destroy our Democracy. The members of the committee are unanimously of the opinion that those who seek to divide our people on the basis of racial prejudice are ably assisting Herr Hitler and his cohorts. They are either unwittingly or deliberately contributing to Hitler’s psychological war-blitz.

Under the cloak of the Bill of Rights, the Nazi and the Communist seek to subvert the freedoms they intend to destroy while clinging to their protections. The people of the United States will, if they do not delay too long, come to the realization that liberty, if it is not to degenerate to mere license, must be exercised in good faith. When speech and the press are used for the purpose of destroying the freedom of both then safeguards must be taken by those who use their liberties

properly and *in good faith* to the end that these same liberties be preserved.

The committee and its representatives have given considerable time to the study of propaganda methods used by subversivists, particularly in relation to psychological principles. In this connection it has sought for an explanation of Hitler's anti-Semitic policy. It has been suggested that this plank in the program of the Nazi Party is based on Hitler's personal hatred of the Jews. Some have believed that it was merely an inhuman plan for uniting the German people by fostering a common hatred and persecution of the Jewish people—the creation of a scapegoat for German ills. Still others have suggested that the Nazis used it as an outrageous pretext for the confiscation of Jewish fortunes and properties. Probably all of these theories contributed to the original policies in Germany, but Nazi psychologists have turned it to use in foreign propaganda campaigns. Anti-Semitism, when analytical histories of these times are written, will prove to have been an important factor in Hitler's initial successes. It was highly effective during the Chamberlain phase of appeasement and contributed to the collapse of Czechoslovakia and France. The will to fight against Hitler was broken because the people of these countries had been indoctrinated with the thesis that only the Jews wanted to fight the Nazis, and, therefore, to fight Hitler was merely *to fight for the Jews*.

The superiority of the Nordic or "pure Aryan" fiction is just as important in Hitler's psychological warfare as is his anti-Semitic policy. There probably is really no true connection between the two, except as one forms the background for the other. The Nazis, by this mental tactic attempted—and succeeded more than we yet realize—in supplanting obligations owed to the German Weimar Republic in the beginning, and the respective governments they intended to conquer after coming to power, by obligations owed to the race, the Nordic—the "pure Aryan." By directing the mind toward a *minor* detail it is quite possible to deceive concerning *major* facts. By the proper process of negative induction and the generous conditioning of mental reflexes it is quite possible to cause people to act contrary to the obvious and thus induce them to destroy with their own hands the nation to which they owe their loyalty. Individuals of German descent or those inflated with the idea of Nordic ancestry, little in mind and flattered with a sudden-found "racial superiority" soon come to believe and act on the premise of "*Aryan bloodship*" with the Third Reich, directing their allegiance, *not* to the country of citizenship, but to the New Order of Fuehrer Hitler.

Anti-Semitism is growing in California. Not so very long ago the chairman of your committee, having just finished a radio broadcast on a phase of the Nation's war effort, was called on the studio's telephone. "You are fighting for the Jews!" a woman's voice exclaimed in sincere distress and concern. "Our best educated people know and say that our American Gentile boys are being sent to slaughter in foreign countries because the powerful Jew money lords demand it! We have no quarrel with Hitler; *he is only fighting the Jews!*"

The committee submits that this sort of thing is difficult to combat. Only strict emphasis on democratic principles of full equality of oppor-

tunity for all races under the Constitution will steel the American people to successful resistance of these psychological onslaughts. During these times, and completely aside from the obvious falsity of such lying propaganda, it resolves itself to a matter of National defense.

C. Leon de Aryan was the editor of *The Broom*, a San Diego publication. (Volume III, pp. 2273-2304.) He had been in the publishing business in the City of San Diego for 12 years and his publication appeared in San Diego every Monday. The paper was notoriously anti-Semitic, isolationist and anti-Roosevelt.

de Aryan stated that he was solely responsible for the editorial policy of the paper. He continuously carried an active campaign against Communism and Communists, which campaign, according to his own statement, has been the policy of the paper from "practically the first issue." de Aryan believes that the Marxist philosophy destroys individual initiative. He was very much aware of the Communist Party and its activities in San Diego and declared that the Communists had been "after" him for six or seven years. This came about, he explained, because he refused to sign a petition legalizing the Communist Party in California. He stated that the Communists continually abuse him and even call him on the telephone with insults and threats. He revealed a very unique ability by declaring that he could tell a Communist by the voice over the telephone. He explained that all Communists have a "gutteral sound" in their voices (p. 2276). de Aryan was born in Rumania in 1886 under the name of Constantine Legenopol. He moved to Austria after the death of his father and stayed there until he was 19. At this time, his mother had him placed in an insane asylum where he remained for about 14 months. He was removed from this place to another insane asylum located in Vienna. The doctors in Vienna discovered that the cause of his trouble was "family persecution" and released him with a letter stating that fact. He went from Vienna to Egypt and worked in Mesopotamia on an engineering job under Sir William Wilcox. Sir William Wilcox was working for the Turkish Government but was also in the employ of the British, sending duplicate maps to Sinla, India. de Aryan stated that he did not approve of this type of double-dealing, and therefore, resigned his position. He came to the United States in 1912 and joined the United States Army under the name of Kosti, which, he said, was an abbreviation of Constantine. He later had his name changed to Aryan and subsequently legalized it by a court proceeding in the City of Los Angeles, adding the "de" because of readings in numerology.

He was dishonorably discharged from the United States Army in 1914. He stated that he opposed the method of inducting men into the army and contended that the oath was not read to him before he enlisted.

He went to Texas and from there to Mexico where he remained during the World War. After the Armistice he shipped out of Mexico and made a trip to Belgium and returned to New York, entering the United States at Ellis Island. He has been a resident of San Diego about 14 or 15 years.

He claimed that he broke up the Silver Shirts in San Diego. He declared that members of this organization had beaten him once because he opposed them. This opposition, he explained, was on the same

ground on which he opposed the Communists, "or any organization which tries to constrain people and force them into things." He related the history of the mutilation and murder of a boy named Apo-shin whom the Silver Shirts claimed was slain in a Jewish ritual murder.

He admitted that he had copied material from the *Roll Call*, a publication of William Dudley Pelley, because he agreed with the sentiment expressed in the material. It was anti-New Deal and de Aryan admitted being anti-New Deal. He admitted that he was aware that the *Roll Call* was anti-Semitic. He admitted having written and printed an article in *The Broom* against the "Tenney Committee," referring to the contemplated investigation in San Diego as a "political smear campaign."

He declared that he had been persecuted in San Diego by the Jews. He said that the animosity of the Jews against him was such that they had forced advertisers to withdraw their ads from *The Broom*. He explained that this animosity began on an occasion when he opposed picketing by the *American Federation of Labor* of Whitney's Department Store in San Diego, protesting the handling of German-made goods. de Aryan stated that he "put on a skirt and picketed the pickets" and that the Jewish citizenry of San Diego "got awfully mad about that."

Lawrence R. (Larry) Griffith was so anti-Semitic that he would have nothing to do with Robert Noble and the *Friends of Progress*. (Volume IX, pp. 2827-2836.) He attended meetings of the *Friends of Progress* and knew Ellis O. Jones, Robert Noble, the Van Meter brothers, and Leone Menier "by sight." He stated that he did not feel that Noble was playing a "straight game" because Noble's doctor and lawyer were both Jews. "Well," Griffith added, "he can not represent me as an American." He had passed out handbills at the *Friends of Progress* meetings. He declared that he did not believe that real Americans should speak, write or teach Yiddish or Talmudic traditions and that, generally, he was suspicious of Noble because he was too friendly with the Jews.

Griffith admitted having composed the material contained in the pamphlet, *Why Do You Hate Hitler?* and having distributed copies at the meetings of the *Friends of Progress*. He had also distributed about 200 copies of *Publicity*, a paper put out by Gardner of Wichita, Kansas. Griffith stated that this made Ellis O. Jones "sore, because he is out for the shekels." He gave away most of his pamphlets, *Why Do You Hate Hitler?* but was able to sell some of them.

"I am not for Hitler for America; I am for Hitler for Germany," Griffith declared. He supported the views of Father (Charles) Coughlin and quoted from *Social Justice*. He wanted to use his opportunity in testifying to deliver a speech on the evils of Jewish influence in the United States. When this was objected to, he declared, "If that's un-American, God pity us!" He was recalled March 24, 1942. (Volume X, pp. 2903-2905.) At this time his pamphlet, *Why Do You Hate Hitler?*, was introduced into the record. Griffith, at this hearing, took full credit for the *United Minute Men and Women of America* and stated that it was organized by him in order to institute research on the enemies within this country "who are trying to undermine our

government." He stated that he organized the *United Minute Men and Women of America* in 1941 after Lindbergh's Des Moines speech. The organization started out with some 200 members, according to Griffith, but dwindled away. He claimed that he had not kept written records of the money that had been collected. The organization, according to Griffith, is now inactive, except for himself.

The following is indicative of the context of Griffith's *Why Do You Hate Hitler?*:

"The public has been misinformed and misled to hate the German people, just as much as they have been led to hate the Japanese people. \* \* \* Franklin Roosevelt's hate Hitler program and love Churchill and Stalin, is nothing more than a political Jewish method of getting the public mind off the Jew, and as a smoke screen, placing the blame on Hitlerism."

Ellis O. Jones, in an article he had written for *Publicity* for August 7, 1941, referred to "Jew-controlled movies," and "Jew-controlled Department Stores." (Volume III, pp. 744-760.) He declared that he was opposed to the Jews because they had opposed the principles of the *America First Committee*. (Volume IV, pp. 1187-1190.) He admitted contributing articles to *Free American* but could not recall if he had made contributions to *The Broom*. He met C. Leon de Aryan in 1933 and stated that he was a rather casual acquaintance and that he had no knowledge of de Aryan's background. He was aware, however, that *Free American* was combined with *Weckruf*. He admitted having seen circulars and stickers attacking the Jews. (Volume IX, pp. 2489-2528.)

Ben S. Beery introduced into the committee's record a circular which was picked up in *Robinson's Department store* in Los Angeles on February 11, 1942. The title of the circular read: "*Buy From a Christian or Work for a Jew.*" Many such circulars have been collected by the committee and its investigators and are on file in committee records.

Harold A. Sparling admitted having written a pamphlet entitled *Why I am Running for Congress* and stated that he had distributed 6,000 copies of it. It was viciously anti-Semitic and listed the names of alleged Jews serving in the Roosevelt Administration. He described the emblem printed in the pamphlet and, though he admitted that it resembled a swastika, he stated that it was a modified version of the tuberculosis seal. He considered the Democratic Party as a "Bolshevik Party" and President Roosevelt as a "Bolshevik." He claimed that he could not recall all the sources of the material used in his pamphlet and admitted that he had used the term "Communist" rather loosely. He confided to the committee that he hated the Jews and the British. (Volume III, pp. 714-744.)

George T. Baker of San Francisco was an official of the *Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition*. (Volume VII, pp. 1980-2007.) He declared that the organization was established in 1936 by Oscar Braumbach who was formerly a secretary to United States Senator Schall. The offices of the *Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition* was located at 57 Post Street in the City of San Francisco and had been in that location since

July of 1941. Baker stated that there were "probably" several hundred members of the organization in San Francisco. Dr. Richard Carlyle was the Southern California organizer for the group. The *Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition* published a manual of organization and a periodical entitled *America Awake*. The organization was sustained entirely by donations and the sale of books and the members paid no dues. It was a nonprofit corporation and its alleged purpose was to prevent the United States from becoming entangled in foreign wars.

Baker testified that the present plan of the organization was to bring together groups with similar purposes—those who were opposed to foreign wars and to certain "credit practices" of the United States Government. Pursuant to this purpose of bringing similar groups together, Baker stated the National Chairman of the *Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition*, Oscar Braumback, was scheduled to speak in Cleveland, Ohio to the *United Mothers of America*. This group, according to Baker, was similar in type to the *Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition*, as was the *National Copperheads* in Los Angeles. (He claimed he did not know Ellis O. Jones.)

He admitted reading the literature of the Silver Shirts and expressed himself as believing this material to be very educational. As a matter of fact, he insisted on reading some of this literature into the committee's records. He read an article entitled "*Jew Dealers in Office and Their Red Front Personnel*," from *Roll Call*.

He stated that he had met Wilhelm Kunze in San Francisco when the Fuehrer of the *German-American Bund* spoke at a meeting at 320 Divisidero Street in 1940. He claimed that he did not know that Kunze was connected with the *German-American Bund*. He admitted that he read *Free American* and likewise claimed that he did not know it was the official publication of the *German-American Bund*.

He related what he knew of the *American Forum*. He said that Godfrey Hind was chairman of this organization, but could not state whether or not Hind was a member of the *German-American Bund*. He admitted having heard Hind talk but could not recall if he spoke of Hitler but did remember that he spoke on the "Jewish question."

He then produced the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* and insisted on reading Protocol Twenty to the committee regarding the methods the Jews are alleged to have planned for the bankrupting of nations. Baker insisted that he believed these Protocols.

He stated that the *American Forum* was sometimes referred to as the *Christian Forum* and that its meetings were attended by 50 or 60 people.

He expressed the opinion that his organization, the *Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition*, would not permit infiltration by members of the *German-American Bund*. He stated that the *Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition* "preached only Americanism."

He had read all of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh's speeches and was in full agreement with the opinions expressed by Lindbergh on the Jews. In this connection he read from Walter Steele's testimony before the Dies Committee concerning the background of Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky and others and remarked that "these people are Jewish."

He presented the committee with a magazine, *The White Knight*, published by George Deatheridge of the *Knights of the White Camellia*. The article in question was another anti-Jewish piece entitled "The Jew Deal Issue."

The testimony of George T. Baker left no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee of the anti-Semitic nature of the *Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition* and its close association with Fascist and Nazi organizations.

Samuel L. Brogden was the State Chairman of the *Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition*. (Volume VII, pp. 2025-2036.) He stated that he had not had anything to do with the organization of the group but that he had set up an executive committee of 25 members. He did not have the names of the members of the executive committee at hand but stated that they had been selected from patriotic and Christian organizations.

Brogden claimed that he knew of no attempts on the part of the members of the *German-American Bund* to inject themselves into the *Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition*, but admitted that he had made no personal effort to determine whether attempts or not had actually been made.

He was familiar with C. Leon de Aryan's newspaper, *The Broom*, but claimed that he was not personally acquainted with de Aryan. He was also acquainted with the *Beacon Light*, published by William Kulgren. He had seen copies of the *Free American* but was not familiar with it. He stated that someone had sent him a copy which contained an article entitled "The Gravediggers of Russia" which dealt with the Jews and contained a subtitle, "Try to Find a Russian Among Them." Brogden was also familiar with the writings of Edward Edmundson, Gerald Winrod, and William Dudley Pelley. He admitted that he was responsible for the paper *America Awake*.

Earl C. Craig testified that he had attended many *America First Committee* meetings in 1941. (Volume IV, pp. 1253-1258.) He stated that he attended a meeting in Glendale presided over by a man by the name of Hunt, when G. Allison Phelps spoke. He stated that the crowd cried, "Jew! Jew!" when Hunt mentioned the name of John Spivak. He stated that Hunt's address continued to draw similar responses from the audience.

Craig stated that he had distributed literature for the *Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies* at various meetings and that he finally found himself in trouble with the police for distributing such literature at the meetings of the *America First Committee*. Craig blamed the *America Firsters* for this difficulty.

William Hunt was reported as a frequent visitor at the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles and is alleged to have been present there when Fritz Kuhn visited the *German-American Bund* in Southern California. He also had been associated with the activities of Faith McCullough, former secretary to Mrs. Leslie Fry.

**NAZI FRONT ORGANIZATIONS**

The committee learned that the *German-American Bund* utilized the "transmission belt" technique of the Communist Party. Wherever an organization existed whose objectives fitted the current policy of Hitler and his American agents, members of the Bund penetrated such organizations. The *America First Committee* and the *National Legion of Mothers of America* were non-intervention and isolationist groups opposed to war and against conscription, and such organizations were made to order for American Bundsters. The committee is convinced of the sincerity, loyalty and honesty of the majority of the original organizers of the *America First Committee* in California. There is no doubt, however, in the minds of the members of the committee that the *German-American Bund* caused its members to become active in these and similar groups in order to propagandize Americans against entry or participation in the European conflict.

From January 15 to March 1, 1941, *German-American Bund* locals were issued mimeographed instructions in closed meetings. Before the instructions were issued, members present were asked to take an oath promising to destroy the mimeographed memoranda before leaving the Bund halls. The instructions stated: "These instructions must be memorized and destroyed before leaving this hall TONIGHT. There is nothing illegal in the operations of your organization but the following instructions might be misunderstood if through the carelessness of any of our members they were lost."

The so-called "instructions" outlined the policy or "line" of conduct for the German-American Bundsters and stated that "For the good of the United States and the Reich" the Lend-Lease Bill must be defeated *in toto*. The members were instructed to be "mild" in all conversations; "In every circumstance avoid the label of pro-German which label once acquired destroys the value of your work completely. Be mildly sympathetic toward Britain but never forget to casually recall her Imperialism, her poverty-stricken people and her long years of misrule. Particularly her misrule of these American colonies."

Minute instructions were given in reference to Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. The Bundsters were urged to "recall that Lindbergh warned the world of Germany's increasing air power after a thorough inspection of it by the courtesy of the German Fuehrer." They were further urged to "infer always that he made this trip as a Colonel of the United States Army and as the direct agent of his Commander-in-Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt." The instructions continue as follows:

"\* \* \* This will convey the impression that the present administration is responsible for failing to take advantage of the information procured for it by its own agent and the generous cooperation of the Fuehrer.

"Generally speaking, this statement will not be denied but if it is you may always plead ignorance. (Lindbergh is actually an honorary colonel of the Missouri National Guard and thus on the reserve of the United States

Army.) But you need have little fear of contradiction and will find this statement very successful in friendly conversation.

"Avoid as always all blatant pro-Germans. They are doing us more harm than good and should be shunned for the moment. Seventy per cent of the American people are of direct German descent and a great majority of the balance of the population of this heterogeneous country is non-Aryan.

"Tolerantly discredit Willkie. A boyish figure who wants to play at being a soldier so badly that he is a willing tool in the hands of Roosevelt. A well-meaning man with no understanding of International affairs and a tool of the warmongers.

"\* \* \* Wheeler and Johnson are two Americans with the best interests of the American people at heart \* \* \* they are unwilling to see the cream of America die in the shambles of Europe \* \* \* the United States is perfectly safe and should rearm slowly and intelligently on the five-year plan which will make it impregnable at the end of five years. Quote General Wood of the *America First Committee*. These are two great names, the first speaking for itself and the second widely confused with General Leonard Wood, a confusion to be encouraged. Quote Hamilton Fish and La Follette. Never forget the unpaid war debt from the past World War. When conversing with strong anti-Roosevelt people, compare his ideas with the Fuehrer's; encourage the feeling that he wishes to be a dictator, insinuate the best medical opinions to be that he is power-mad due to a mental condition directly attributable to infantile paralysis. Remember always that this administration must be weakened at any cost \* \* \*. Roosevelt is the fountainhead of the aid to England theory and \* \* \* he and his administration must be attacked constantly. But always from the American angle, never from the German.

"For the next 60 days then, exalt Lindbergh. His name still means more than any of America's heroes of the past. Quote his opinions, never forget that he told the world all of Germany's secrets. Idolize him as the Protector of American youth from the warmongers. (If you are told that he wears the decoration of our Fuehrer remind the speaker that he wears decorations from almost every nation.) But support Lindbergh for Lindbergh can be depended upon.

"Include as many as possible in your circle of acquaintances, always be mild in your opinions but get around. It is your duty; never sleep, keep moving and working and before another year goes by the world will enjoy a New Order, a disciplined order of German justice under the guiding hand of our magnificent Fuehrer \* \* \*.

"The Battle of Britain will be over by June, the Battle of America then will never need to be fought. Remember always that war is an awful thing to be avoided at all costs except as a court of last resort. Here in the United States the great industrialists and powerful labor leaders will make the New Order possible by their own differences once England is gone and the triumphant Axis confronts the world in all the splendor of their armed might. So then, on to Der Tag, peace in the New Order and a happier America.

"You are under oath to destroy this paper before leaving this hall tonight. Do not forget."

The above-quoted instructions of the *German-American Bund* should be held in mind when studying the activities of Nazi-front organizations.

In San Francisco the *National Legion of Mothers of America* was addressed at one of its luncheons in the Empire Hotel in June, 1941, by no less a person than Laura Ingalls, who was subsequently convicted and sentenced to a term in a Federal prison as a paid Nazi agent.

The *Friends of Progress* appeared to be a transmission belt of Nazi origin. Its directors, Robert Noble and Ellis O. Jones, both citizens of the United States, gave the organization an innocent appearance in the beginning. Robert Noble had drummed up a considerable following through old-age pension plans and was building the *Friends of Progress* rapidly when the committee first subpoenaed him to appear in the State Building in Los Angeles, October 17, 1941. The *No Foreign Wars Coalition* and similar organizations were utilized for "No European War Involvement" propaganda.

#### NAZI-COMMUNIST COLLABORATION

The committee heretofore has outlined the collaboration of the Communist Party with the Nazis during the time Hitler and Stalin were invading Poland under the terms of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. We have heretofore set forth the testimony of Hugh Ben Inzer, a former head of a C. I. O. union in southern California in which he described the conference called by Lew Michener at the C. I. O. Regional Headquarters in Los Angeles. It will be recalled that Mr. Inzer there met Hans Diebel of the *German-American Bund* and Pettis Perry, the Secretary of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County. The committee found considerable evidence of this close collaboration between the agents of Hitler in California and the Communist Party of the United States during the time Hitler and Stalin were partitioning Poland. After June 22, 1941, however, this collaboration ceased.

Harold A. Sparling organized *True Americans* at the Embassy Auditorium, September 10, 1940. (Volume III, pp. 714-744.) This organization nominated Charles A. Lindbergh for President of the United States and Burton K. Wheeler for the Vice Presidency. The *True Americans* sponsored a meeting at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles for February 25, 1941.

Mrs. Frances Sherrill claimed to have founded the *National Legion of Mothers of America* in October of 1939. (Volume X, pp. 2899-2902.)

At the time of testifying, March 24, 1942, Mrs. Sherrill stated that the organization no longer held meetings but that it was still in existence. She stated that its purposes were to keep the United States out of war and to provide for strong National defense.

She admitted having made a trip to Washington, D. C., in May of 1941 and again in November or December of 1941. She stated that the trip was financed by "nickels and dimes" donated by the members of the organization. She stated that she met Congressman Stephen A. Day while in Washington. She was acquainted with G. Allison Phelps.

Mrs. Eleanor Morris, the daughter of Mayor Angelo J. Rossi of San Francisco, was subpoenaed for questioning concerning the *National Legion of Mothers of America* in San Francisco. (Volume XIII, pp. 3504-3524.) She stated that the organization was originated by a Mrs. Mary Ireland. She had joined by signing an application which had appeared in a newspaper. The group had been launched with the assistance of Frances Sherrill and Mary Sheldon, in October of 1939. She was acquainted with Mrs. Frank Panter and had known her for a number of years. She admitted that she was active in the Northern California Branch of the *National Legion of Mothers of America*. The organization had about 8,000 members in the City of San Francisco. She was acquainted with Kathleen Norris and stated that Kathleen Norris was active in the leadership of the group. Mrs. Morris denied that she had ever contacted Mrs. Sheldon but admitted that she had been in touch with Mrs. Frances Sherrill.

The funds of the organization were raised by collections taken at meetings. Mrs. Morris was the chairman of the northern branch until about a month before the declaration of war. She denied being familiar with the stickers and circulars distributed in the Los Angeles area by the organization, including those demanding "Impeach Roosevelt" and "Roosevelt should be impeached." She admitted having been affiliated with the *America First Committee*. She averred that Catherine Curtis had arranged for Laura Ingalls to speak before the *National Legion of Mothers of America* in the Empire Hotel in San Francisco on June 5, 1941. She also was aware that Laura Ingalls had been subsequently indicted and convicted as a paid Nazi agent. She admitted having been present in the Empire Hotel at the time Laura Ingalls spoke. Later Laura Ingalls wrote to Mrs. Morris asking if money could be raised in San Francisco for the purpose of securing peace pamphlets to be dropped by airplane in Washington, D. C. She contended that she did not assist in raising this money.

Ben S. Beery stated that the *World Events Forum*, under the supervision of A. M. Windhorst, was a subversive organization. F. K. Ferenz participated in the meetings of the *World Events Forum*.

A man by the name of Dr. E. R. Verostek spoke at a meeting of this organization on January 28, 1942. Notices for the meetings of the *World Events Forum* were freely distributed at meetings of the *Friends of Progress* and vice versa. It was learned that Dr. E. R. Verostek was once the chairman of the *America First Youth Group*.

Beery testified that F. K. Ferenz advertised his *Continental Book Shop* at the meetings of the *Friends of Progress* and the *World Events Forum*.

F. K. Ferenz participated from time to time in these organizations.

Larry Griffith distributed literature for the *United Minute Men and Women of America*. The *Ku Klux Klan* was said to be active in this organization.

James Adams Van Meter testified that he assisted in the operation of his brothers' printing enterprises. (Volume IV, pp. 1014-1023, 1061.) He stated that his brothers Baron Frederick, Daniel Elias and himself, were "amateur printers." They printed literature for Emil Lodahl's organization, the *National Patriots*. He claimed that he had not had an occasion to converse with Emil Lodahl, prior to the hearing, for about three years.

The *League to Save America First* was founded by T. W. Hughes and held its meetings in the Embassy Auditorium in the City of Los Angeles. T. W. Hughes wrote a book entitled *The Truth About England* which was distributed by the *National Book Mart* and the *Aryan Book Store*. F. K. Ferenz participated from time to time in the meetings of the *League to Save America First*.

Hughes conducted the meetings of the *League to Save America First* and during his activities attracted many *America First Committee* speakers to his platform, including Louise Ward Watkins, Bishop Tarkington Dowden, Albert W. Carlson, Frank J. Barry, Sr., Frank J. Barry, Jr., James D'Orsay Murray and Michael Dillon. The *League to Save America First* continuously drew audiences which regularly booed and hissed the names of the President of the United States and outstanding Americans.

Hughes is reported as having participated in the policy meetings of the *America First Committee*.

Benjamin Franklin Ballard, who organized the *American Guards*, was a regular attendant at the meetings of the *League to Save America First* and was the chairman of the down town chapter of the *America First Committee*. His addresses were outspokenly anti-Semitic. He compared the President of the United States to Benedict Arnold and urged impeachment proceedings.

#### NATIONAL COPPERHEADS OF AMERICA

Ellis O. Jones was the creator and organizer of the *National Copperheads of America*. (Volume III, pp. 744-750.) This organization came into being shortly after President Roosevelt called Charles A. Lindbergh, a "copperhead". "If Lindbergh's a copperhead," stated Mr. Jones, "so am I."

On May 2, 1941 Jones rented a post-office box for the *National Copperheads*, which he said was a nonprofit, nondues-paying organization. He stated that he donated his time and that the organization "stands 100 per cent for Lindbergh." He declared that he approved of Lindbergh's Des Moines speech. He personally keeps the records of the organization.

On the evening of July 30, 1941, the *National Copperheads* sponsored a meeting at the Hollywood High School at which Captain James D'Orsay Murray, Laura Ingalls and Ellis O. Jones spoke. It was estimated that some 7,800 people were in attendance. Mr. Jones presented the committee with a copy of a song, *America First, National Copperheads* buttons and literature.

He identified a printed copy of Lindbergh's Des Moines speech and stated that he had distributed such copies in his capacity as the leader of the *National Copperheads* (Volume IX, pp. 2489-2528).

C. Leon de Aryan met Ellis O. Jones shortly after President Roosevelt referred to Charles A. Lindbergh as a "copperhead". (Volume VIII, pp. 2273-2304.) He stated he did not know Jones was a member of the *American Civil Liberties Union* and the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee*, or that he corresponded for *Weckruf*, *German-American Bund* newspaper in New York, and *Free American*. De Aryan admitted that Jones had sent him literature and articles which were published in *The Broom*.

Daniel Elias Van Meter admitted having worn the button of the *National Copperheads*. (Volume IX, pp. 2815-2824.) He stated he was not a member for the reason that there were no members.

Ben S. Beery testified that Jones had distributed *Copperhead* pins at meetings of the *German-American Bund* in Hindenburg Park.

The *National Copperheads* in operation, regardless of other considerations, contributed considerably to creating a lack of confidence in the United States and its foreign policy. It was decidedly subversive.

The *American Guard* was a Los Angeles organization and its "platform" indicated great similarity to Nazi philosophy, promulgating the doctrine of the abolition of labor unions and the substitution of a "government union," such as exists in Nazi Germany and Russia. The propaganda of the organization was the promotion of totalitarian doctrines. Benjamin Franklin Ballard is alleged to have been the organizer and leader of this organization.

The *Anti-Communist Federation* was definitely in the subversive "front" category. Its secretary was Paquita Louise De Shishmareff, who was also known as Mrs. Leslie (or Louise) Fry. (Mrs. Fry or De Shishmareff mysteriously fled the country and is believed to be in Germany.) The *Anti-Communist Federation* called a convention in Los Angeles in 1940 which was held at the headquarters of the *German-American Bund*, the Deutsches Haus located at 634 W. Fifteenth Street in the City of Los Angeles. Obviously the organization was a Nazi front, using the anti-Communist technique to solicit American support.

The *Militant Christian Patriots* was another Nazi front organization created and sponsored by the same group which launched the *Anti-Communist Federation*. The *American League of Christian Women* was closely associated with the *Militant Christian Patriots* and created by close associates of Paquita Louise De Shishmareff. Mrs. Faith McCullough, also known as Mrs. Frances Maxey, is reportedly the organizer of this group.

Henry D. Allen was connected with the *American White Guards*, which was definitely pro-Fascist in character. Allen testified before a congressional committee that he had at one time been a Silver Shirt leader and had been authorized by Mrs. Leslie Fry (Paquita Louise De Shishmareff) to make a tour of the country at her expense. He had gained the confidence of the Pasadena Chapter of the *America First Committee* and was scheduled to speak at one of its meetings on June 6, 1941, but the people of Pasadena protested and his address was canceled.

Mrs. Faith McCullough, who was also known as Frances Maxey, was the organizer of the *American League of Christian Women*. She was active in the Glendale and Pasadena chapters of the *America First Committee* and appeared as an *America First Committee* speaker. She personally appeared before the Board of Education in the City of Pasadena on behalf of the *America First Committee* in fighting the cancellation of the Board of Education's permit for the use of the school buildings for meetings of the group.

## 7

## FRIENDS OF PROGRESS

Robert Noble and Ellis O. Jones were the codirectors of the *Friends of Progress*. Noble probably launched the organization and was joined by Jones as codirector after it was well under way. Noble was a deserter from the Navy during the first World War and was very proud of his dishonorable discharge, which he had had framed and hung in his bedroom. He was born under the name of "Coker" and stated that he had had his name changed legally in 1928 to Noble. (Volume IV, pp. 1081-1092.) He likewise admitted having been arrested and convicted on a charge of taking money from telephone boxes in 1918. He stated he was given two years' probation on this charge. (Volume IX, pp. 2584-2624.)

He detailed the circumstances behind his dishonorable discharge from the Navy when testifying before the committee the second time, February 23, 1942. (Volume IX, pp. 2584-2624.) He stated that he enlisted in the Navy on November 29, 1915, and because he did not like it, he deserted and was caught. After being sentenced for his desertion he jumped overboard from the prison ship and swam to Hampton Roads. He went to the home of his mother in Evansville, Indiana, and his mother promptly had him returned to the Navy. He again returned home and worked for a telephone company for some 87 days when he was re-arrested. This time he was sentenced to a year and a half at Portsmouth Prison where he remained until April, 1917, and the declaration of war with Germany. He was ordered to duty and refused to go. The doctor of the ship rejected him for physical disability and he was given a dishonorable discharge.

Noble had previously been the instigator of a pension plan in the City of Los Angeles and through his particular type of oratory had accumulated a considerable following among the elderly folk of Los Angeles County. Undoubtedly the supporters of the organization of the *Friends of Progress* in the beginning were composed of these elderly people, who were perfectly innocent of the movement into which Noble was leading them. It was not long, however, until many members of the *German-American Bund* and its sympathizers were attending his meetings and assisting in the spread of pro-Axis propaganda.

When Noble first appeared before the committee, October 17, 1941, he wore a button of the *National Copperheads*. (Volume IV, pp. 1081-1092.) He stated at that time, that the *Friends of Progress* was only eight weeks old and that it was the offspring of the *Humanist Society*, a religious organization of ministers.

He was quite frank in admitting his admiration for Hitler and Nazi Germany. He remembered telling the meetings of the *Friends of Progress* that he was "for Germany and for Hitler," but did not recall giving the Nazi salute and saying "Heil Hitler." He stated that he was perfectly willing to give the salute if the committee desired. He had read *Mein Kampf* (p. 1087) and stated that he was absolutely thrilled by the reading of it. He thought it "idealistic" and that it contained "marvelous thoughts" and said that he fully concurred with its sentiments; that he was in perfect accord with them and perfectly happy to have everyone know it. He stated he believed Hitler did a good job on the Jews and advocated that the things being done to the Jews in Germany should be duplicated in this country. He stated that the Jews are trying to get the United States into the war and that they are coming to control everything in America, the motion picture industry, the department stores and the newspapers.

Some time shortly after December 7, 1941, Robert Noble, Ellis O. Jones and a number of the people connected with the *Friends of Progress* were arrested by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. A short time later Noble, Jones and the others were released and the charges against them dismissed. The result of this action on the part of the Attorney General of the United States gave considerable impetus to the movement of the *Friends of Progress* and apparently encouraged Noble and Jones to greater efforts. Their meetings increased because of the publicity they had received and even though the United States was now at war with Japan and Germany, Noble redoubled his efforts in slandering the military leaders of the United States, the President and the United Nations. The members of the committee decided in an executive session in Fresno to hold a meeting at the Embassy Auditorium with Noble and his *Friends of Progress*, February 11, 1942, for the purpose of securing the names of those in attendance. Thus it was that the committee and its representatives entered the meeting of the *Friends of Progress* at about 10 or 10.30 on the evening of February 11, 1942. Subpenas *duces tecum* were served on Noble and Jones and the boxes containing envelopes with donations and the names and addresses of the donors were taken into the possession of the committee. Cries of "Hund! Hund!" and "Fiery Cross!" greeted the entrance of the committee and its representatives. Ellis O. Jones accompanied the committee to the Stillwell Hotel, across the street from the Embassy Auditorium, where he was put under oath. He identified the boxes and the envelopes and was present while the names and addresses of the donors were read into the official record of the committee.

Before the committee intruded itself into the meeting of the *Friends of Progress*, Ellis O. Jones had read a letter to the audience which, he stated was from an unnamed United States Senator. The letter encouraged Noble and Jones and the *Friends of Progress* in the work they were doing. This matter was of considerable interest to the committee and Jones was asked to produce the letter after he was placed under oath in the Stillwell Hotel. He eventually produced what purported to be a copy of a letter from a United States Senator minus the signature. He steadfastly refused to reveal the name of the writer. His flat refusal led to a resolution introduced and unanimously passed

by the committee citing Jones for contempt of the committee. He was ultimately arrested, charged with contempt under Section 87 of the Penal Code and convicted in the Municipal Court of the City of Los Angeles.

The letter, purporting to have been written by a United States Senator, the identity of whom Jones refused to reveal reads as follows:

“Washington, D. C.,  
February 7, 1942

“DEAR ELLIS: Many thanks for the bulletins you have been sending. They are splendid and ought to prove very effective. Indeed I know they have been effective, been hearing from them from several people. Keep me on the list by all means and here is a dollar bill to help defray the expense. Also keep me advised as in the past of social developments on the coast.

“Things here show no particular signs of improvement —just the same old dismal chaos. The amazing success of the Japanese has upset what few orderly plans there were and turned everybody’s attention to trying to find a soft spot to light. Such a spectacle of explaining and ducking and buck-passing you never saw. The Owens report on Hawaii was, of course, utterly ridiculous. And yet it looks as if Kimmel and Short were so cowed that they are going to take the thing lying down, although many of their friends are urging them to do otherwise.

“No less ridiculous was Sumner Welles much-advertised trip to S. A., a trip that accomplished absolutely nothing of its avowed purpose and left us more friendless than we were before. Anybody that knows anything knows full well that everybody from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn hates our very guts. If any of them appear otherwise, it is merely a hypocritical gesture for some selfish ends, which oftentimes we have been saps enough to stand for. That being the case, Sumner Welles was the very worst man to send on a good will errand. He is a most unpleasant, supercilious individual—a cold fish if ever there was one. The whole truth of the matter is that in every part of S. A. it is business as usual or, I should say, better than usual. With few exceptions they are profiting immensely while much of the rest of the world is bleeding itself to death with useless war expenses entailing mountains of taxes. Their ships are plying the seas unmolested in all directions, and their chief complaint is how to get enough bottoms. I hear that quite a few American ships have been transferred to various S. A. registries.

“Congress, of course, is in a very drear frame of mind. In the past nine years they have surrendered their authority and individuality to such an extent that they don’t know how to recover it. If they could with any show of reason blame F. D. R. for it all, they wouldn’t hesi-

tate a minute, but of course they are just as guilty as he is and nobody knows it better than they. Nevertheless I wouldn't be surprised if there were a pretty big explosion, especially in the Senate, in a month or two.

"On account of the outbreak of the war, I did not get west at Xmas time as I wrote you, but I may be able to make it about Easter. In the meantime, keep up the good work. Give my regards to Noble. I have never met him, but I have a high admiration for him. He must be a very fine character. Of course I read about the outrageous attack upon you by the Boy Scouts of the F. B. I. and I am glad you got out of it so easy, but you certainly ought to start suits for false arrest without delay.

"Yours as ever."

Ben S. Beery (Volume IX, pp. 2529-2571) stated that the members of the *Friends of Progress* were responsible for the worst phases of the *America First Committee* activities and that the leaders of the *Friends of Progress* had been very bold. The meetings had resumed January 7, 1942, after Noble and Jones had been released from custody on orders of United States Attorney General Francis Biddle and had been meeting every Wednesday night since that time. The attendance at the meetings had increased to some 250 after Pearl Harbor and, at the time of testifying Mr. Beery stated that that attendance had jumped to 500 and over. He quoted Noble as telling the meeting on the evening of February 11, 1942: "Don't buy Bonds or Stamps for God's sake . . ."

Noble was again subpoenaed before the committee on February 23, 1942. (Volume IX, pp. 2584-2624.) He stated that the first meeting of the *Friends of Progress* was held on August 30, 1941, in the Embassy Auditorium in the City of Los Angeles. He stated that this meeting was held under the auspices of the *Humanist Society of Friends* and that a Mr. Lowell Coate was the "prime mover." He stated that he had addressed the meeting several times under the auspices of this group. He knew that A. M. Windhorst conducted the *World Events Forum* at the Embassy Auditorium and that T. W. Hughes met there also with a group known as *Save America First*. He was acquainted with Mr. Hughes. He had met C. Leon de Aryan twice and had read several copies of *The Broom*.

Noble identified several pieces of literature which he had sponsored. He stated that a D. H. Rathbone printed literature for the *Friends of Progress* and that Rathbone volunteered his services for this work. Ellis O. Jones, Noble declared, "played a greater part than anyone else" in the organization of the *Friends of Progress*, other than himself.

The money collected at *Friends of Progress* meetings was used for personal needs and no funds were left over for other purposes. He stated that he kept most of the envelopes in which the money was placed and used the names and addresses as his mailing list.

He admitted that he had been in considerable trouble in the City of Los Angeles and that he had been arrested a number of times.

He was not reluctant in admitting that he had made statements at the meetings of the *Friends of Progress* to the effect that he was for

Germany and for Hitler. He stated that he thought Hitler had done a magnificent job for Germany and that he was a fine man for Germany. He recalled stating that the ship *Normandie* had been stolen from the French people. He did not regard the Hawaiian Islands as part of the United States and for that reason did not feel that the Japanese attacked the United States on December 7, 1941. He believed that the Japanese would make more use of the Philippines than the United States and that, therefore, the islands should belong to the Japanese. He regarded the loss of life in the Philippines and in Singapore as needless and thought that defense of these points a futile gesture.

He admitted compiling and distributing pamphlets entitled *The Miracle of Happiness* and stated that it was published in the Spring of 1941. He later stated, when testifying before the committee for the third time, March 26, 1942 (Volume X, pp. 3130-3147), that the *Miracle of Happiness* had been financed by friends and published before the *Friends of Progress* had been organized. He admitted having written most of the material contained in the pamphlet. He mailed many copies to places outside of Los Angeles. A derogatory statement printed on the back of the pamphlet attributed to Jack London declared that the lowest depth to which a man could fall was to become a good soldier. Noble was not sure of the authenticity of its authorship and stated that he received it from Dr. Lowell Coate.

Jack London, during his lifetime, vigorously denied ever having written the article quoted by Robert Noble on the back of his pamphlet *The Miracle of Happiness*. The piece is entitled "A Good Soldier" and reads as follows:

"Young man, your lowest aim in life is to be a good soldier.

"A good soldier never thinks, he only obeys. If he is asked in the morning to shoot down a street, where women and children are clamoring for bread, he shoots. Although he sees the life's blood flowing from the mothers' breast, he feels neither remorse nor shame.

"If he is asked in the morning to go shoot a benefactor or a hero, he shoots. Although he may know that that bullet may pierce the most manly heart that ever beat in human breast.

"A good soldier is not a man, he is not even a brute. A brute only kills in self-defense. All that was human in a good soldier, all that was divine in him, all that constitutes the man, was sworn away when he took the oath of enlistment.

"Young man, you can't fall lower than to be a good soldier, it is the depth beneath which the human can not go."

To all of which Noble added his own comment and advice. He wrote:

"But remember, one who is drafted, does not enlist. And furthermore, a young fellow who enlists, usually does so because he desperately needs a job. Terrific pressure of economic circumstances usually causes it. Cer-

tainly we can't conceive of anyone joining up because he really wants to kill some one.

"Society then is to blame! But society is us! Society is made up of individuals just as we. We are responsible for our individual actions. This makes for the action of society. Therefore, let's individually swear to have nothing to do with war.

"WE CAN TODAY, CONSTITUTIONALLY AND LEGALLY, TAKE THIS STAND AGAINST WAR.

"I have taken it. *Will you?*

"If I do this, and you do this, and we all do this, THEN THERE WILL BE NO MORE WARS. *How about it?*

"(*Write me and I will gladly send you full particulars of how you can individually (legally) keep out of the war effort.*)"

Larry Griffith circulated pamphlets at the meetings of the *Friends of Progress* at the Embassy, including *Wake Up, America*, although Noble stated that "we" forbade him to do it. He denied having any connection with Larry Griffith.

The bulletins issued from time to time by the *Friends of Progress* were compiled and mailed by Jones and Noble. Ferenz also distributed circulars advertising the *Continental Book Store* at the meetings of the *Friends of Progress*. Noble stated that Ferenz had been "a marvelous friend." He admitted that Rathbone and himself had published and distributed a pamphlet entitled *The Meanest Joke the Germans Played on the U. S. A.* This scurrilous article described the so-called "joke" as the scientific achievements of German scientists in helping keep President Roosevelt alive.

He related the circumstances of the picketing of Dr. Beauchamp's place of business for advertising in the pages of the *Los Angeles Daily News* and told of maintaining picket lines in front of the dentist's offices on Fifth and Broadway in Los Angeles. He recalled that Joan McBride had helped in this picketing.

He stated that he had known Leone Menier for several years and that she had put in some money to start the meetings of the *Friends of Progress*. She assisted in stenographic work but received no compensation.

Although he had not purchased defense or war bonds he denied having ever tried to prevent anyone from buying them.

He stated emphatically that he believed Germany had already won the war in Europe, and that he did not believe that Japan desired to "mess in our affairs." (Pearl Harbor, having come and gone, undoubtedly accounted for Noble's attempt in his second hearing to deny or modify some of the testimony given before the committee October 17, 1941.)

December of 1941, January, February and March, of 1942, had almost passed into history and Noble and Jones were still conducting the seditious meetings of the *Friends of Progress*. Consequently, your committee subpoenaed Noble for the third time, March 26, 1942. (Volume X, pp. 3130-3147.) He now stated that no one received a

salary or any compensation whatever from the funds raised by the *Friends of Progress*. He stated that all funds collected were used to defray the expenses of the organization; for the printing of bulletins and the rent of the meeting hall, etc. He declared that both himself and Jones had other sources of income for their personal expenses. Jones was now rooming with Noble and allegedly paying room and board.

Noble denied that he had ever discussed the subject of the draft in his meetings in other than an academic manner. He read a quotation from Daniel Webster on the subject wherein Webster was alleged to have declared the draft unconstitutional. Noble stated that he did not feel that way about it.

He admitted discussing General MacArthur in the meeting of the *Friends of Progress* on March 25, 1942, and recalled that he had said something concerning Douglas MacArthur being the person who ordered the troops to fire on the bonus marchers in Washington in 1932. He stated that it was a lot of nonsense to believe that MacArthur, "*this great bolstered-up fellow in Australia*," could push the Japanese back with his little finger. He admitted that he had pointed out that "the Axis powers as against the Allies had the military strength ratio of 13 to 5, or nearly 3 to 1 in their favor." He stated that the authorities in Washington do not dare to tell the people of the Nation the truth, afraid, if the truth is known, that it would make their positions in Washington insecure. He stated that he believed the situation was much worse than Washington was admitting.

He frankly admitted that he was against conscription.

All in all, Robert Noble was probably one of the most amazing witnesses to ever appear before an investigating committee.

Witnesses called to testify concerning the *Friends of Progress* are as follows:

Ben S. Beery	James Morrison McBride
C. Leon de Aryan	Lydia Joan McBride
Franz K. Ferenz	Leone Menier
Kate Crane Gartz	Robert Noble
Lawrence R. Griffith	David Rathbone
Ellis O. Jones	Daniel Van Meter
Frank King	

Frank King threw considerable light on Robert Noble's activities. (Volume IX, pp. 2747-2762, 2825-2827.) He had been associated with Noble in various activities since about 1934. He was acquainted with Ellis O. Jones, Leone Menier and others. He stated that he met Noble through the *Utopian Society* when Noble was backing Upton Sinclair for Governor of California. He followed Noble when he fell out with the Epic Group and became an admirer and speaker for Huey Long's *Share-the-Wealth Plan*. He attended most of Noble's meetings during this period which continued until Huey Long was assassinated in the fall of 1935. He lived near Noble in Hollywood and saw much of him.

King worked for the *Union Party* of William Lempke when Lempke was running for President of the United States. He joined again with Noble when Noble launched his first pension plan. This period

lasted through 1937. He stated that Noble was at odds with the administration of Mayor Frank L. Shaw of Los Angeles, but accepted money to "lay off" the mayor from one Tommy Mills. Clifford Clinton did not want to have anything to do with Noble, King stated, although Clinton desired to take advantage of Noble's following. Noble spoke over one of Clinton's radio broadcasts.

King stated that Noble was arrested in the fall of 1937 for parading without a permit in front of Radio Station KMTR, from which he had been previously barred. He was then arrested for grand theft or bunco, charged with taking money from people on the promise of starting a radio station in Mexico. About this time, King said, Noble took to heavy drinking and King thereupon broke with him.

He told the committee of a plan launched by Noble in 1939 involving the sale of \$1 bills of his own make for \$1 in United States currency. Noble had some money-reform idea in mind and the plan, apparently, did not involve counterfeiting. King stated that he agreed with Noble's plan for reform at that time but the scheme soon fell through. He stated that Noble was living with various women in Hollywood at that time, and although he did not see him personally, he heard of him indirectly through Ellis O. Jones.

King again met Noble at meetings of the *America First Committee* in 1941. He stated that he was then associated with various members of the *Humanist Society of Friends*, a semi-religious organization. He stated that Dr. Lowell Coate and other Humanists sponsored Noble's *Friends of Progress* meetings, but that these meetings "got too hot for them and they left."

King admitted that he was associated with the *Friends of Progress* in the beginning and that his name had been carried on the early bulletins as assistant director. He stated that he objected to having his name carried in this manner, although admitted having acted as chairman of most of the meetings up to the declaration of war, when he severed his relationship with the organization. He stated that he did not approve of the mock impeachment trial of President Roosevelt.

He admitted that he had met Herman Max Schwinn, Hans Diebel, F. K. Ferenz and others several times. He first met F. K. Ferenz at Robert Noble's home. He stated that after the Committee Investigating Un-American Activities had met in the fall of 1941, groups of the *Friends of Progress* went to the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles to talk the situation over. Ellis O. Jones, according to King, objected and finally refused to go to the Deutsches Haus and had arguments with nearly everybody concerned.

He explained Robert Noble's peculiar magnetism with those to whom he lectured. He stated that nearly all of the people who had been attracted to the meetings of the *Friends of Progress* were persons receiving pensions; elderly people, who had followed Noble in the days of his pension plan. He stated that Noble relied on an "absence of intelligence" in the personnel of his audiences, and used his charm to attract women, both young and old. He stated that Noble always took up collections at every meeting.

Miss Leone Menier had started to keep records for the organization, but it was decided that records were unnecessary. The money collected was spent for whatever Noble wanted. He testified that swastika pins

were sold at meetings of the *Friends of Progress* but not by either King or Noble. He had seen the Van Meter brothers at the meetings of the *Friends of Progress*, knew who they were, but could not recall their respective identities. He stated the swastika pins were worn with bravado by individuals of obvious German sympathies.

King summarized Noble as "The world's greatest bunco artist"; a racketeer and completely insincere. He stated that he believed Noble was trying to make an easy living out of the *Friends of Progress* through the victimization of innocent people.

He stated that the Van Meter brothers had worn the swastika pins at the *Friends of Progress* meetings and that Joan and James McBride had also worn them.

Leone Menier stated she was secretary and housekeeper for Robert Noble. (Volume IX, pp. 2571-2583.) Her residence address was the same as Noble's. She stated that she was an "unemployed secretary." She had been married but was separated from her husband. She had resided in Los Angeles for 10 years. She was last employed by the past-president of the board of supervisors of San Francisco, "several years ago." She was using her maiden name of "Menier" and stated that her husband's name was John Sorenson.

She stated that she was working in a voluntary capacity for the *Friends of Progress*. She met Noble at a social gathering several years ago. The first meeting that she had attended, presided over by Noble, was a meeting of the *Friends of Progress* in August of 1941, at about the time the group organized.

She identified Joan McBride and admitted that she had met her at meetings of the *Friends of Progress*. Her duties were typing bulletins, cutting stencils, etc. for the *Friends of Progress*. She said that she sent out what mail there was, which, ordinarily, consisted of communications addressed from envelopes on which the contributors to the organization had written their names and addresses. No filing cards were ever kept, although the envelopes were retained in Noble's home. She estimated that there were about 500 of them. She stated that no one helped Noble compose his speeches. Her duties as a housekeeper did not include cooking for Noble as they usually ate out. She concluded by stating that she has a private income.

C. Leon de Aryan admitted having met Robert Noble on at least two occasions. He spoke once in the Embassy Auditorium at the *Friends of Progress* meeting when Noble was presiding. (Volume VIII, pp. 2273-2304.) de Aryan stated that Noble was reading an article from *The Broom* when he entered the meeting and upon recognizing de Aryan in the audience insisted upon him addressing the gathering. Either the theme of de Aryan's editorial in *The Broom* or the theme of the talk before the *Friends of Progress*, or both, was "in war time you are supposed to have abolished the Constitution, the Ten Commandments and perhaps God Almighty." He further stated that he explained to the *Friends of Progress* the danger of the establishment of a dictatorship in the United States. While at the meeting of the *Friends of Progress* in Los Angeles de Aryan met A. M. Windhorst who invited him to address the *World Events Forum* on Washington's birthday.

C. Leon de Aryan explained that he had first met Noble through an effort of his to secure support for placing conscientious objectors in the forestry service. He stated that he took this matter up with a Mr. Carter of the Board of Education and was referred to the *Friends' Service Committee* in Pasadena. He then wrote to Ellis O. Jones stating that he would be in Los Angeles and went to the *Friends of Progress* meeting.

Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz was examined in reference to Robert Noble and the *Friends of Progress*. (May 12, 1942, pp. 63-86.) Mrs. Gartz has resided in California for 30 years. She stated that William Schneiderman had called at her house several years ago accompanied by Earl Browder and that they came as "friends" with other "friends." It has been her custom to hold meetings in her home for the past 30 years on each Tuesday. She invites in "neighborhood friends" and "friends bring other friends." She was well aware that Browder and Schneiderman were leading functionaries of the Communist Party. She denied having any knowledge of Communist Party aims but knew that Russia was trying to establish Communism. She was acquainted with Paul Cline as a member of the Communist Party.

Mrs. Gartz stated that she was interested in Communism from a cultural standpoint. She had known various people who had lived in Russia and was acquainted with various local Communist Party members. She believed that John M. Weatherwax was a member of the Communist Party and recalled that he had stated that fact to her.

She recalled, that, about two weeks before testifying, F. K. Ferenz, Robert Noble, Ellis O. Jones and Genevieve Kerrigan came to her home and that John Weatherwax, being present in her house, refused to admit them. She then wrote a letter to Robert Noble asking him not to come back. He did call at her residence twice after the letter was written to him and Mrs. Kerrigan called to explain about him. Ellis O. Jones had brought Noble to Mrs. Gartz' home in the first place. Mrs. Gartz had known Ellis O. Jones in the *American Civil Liberties Union* when he was a director. She claimed that she knew nothing of his contributions to the *German-American Bund* paper. She admitted having given Robert Noble \$100 during the time he was advocating pensions. She also recalled giving \$500 to Ed Robbin, whom she believed to be a member of the Communist Party, in order to help finance the broadcast which was sponsored by the *People's Daily World*, West Coast Communist newspaper. She admitted that she had made numerous contributions to persons who were Communists but that she had never given any money to the Communist Party as such. "I am a Socialist," she added. She admitted that she had never made any real effort to study Communism and merely took the word of friends who were members of the party.

She made a trip to Russia in 1936 but remained there only for a few days. She stated that she received a bad impression and left very soon; that she was very much disappointed in the conditions she found there. "I expected to find paradise," she said plaintively, and instead she stated she found people working under very bad conditions and observed widespread unemployment and poverty.

Ellis O. Jones gave his occupation as that of writer and admitted that he was a contributor to such publications as *Free American*, *The Broom* and others. (Volume III, pp. 744-760.) He admitted having participated in demonstrations in New York City in 1918 protesting against World War I. He stated that he went to Columbus, Ohio, and from there to Wisconsin and that he came to Los Angeles about 10 years ago. He stated that he had majored in political economy in Yale University. He was acquainted with Communist Party literature and stated that "The Communists are full of inconsistencies."

He claimed that he had been mistreated when he was detained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in his arrest following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. (Volume IX, pp. 2489-2528.) He elaborated upon this statement by saying that his mistreatment consisted in being falsely arrested and being held incommunicado.

He was acquainted with the *Humanist Society of Friends* but had never spoken under its auspices. He had spoken on many occasions, however, under the auspices of the *Friends of Progress*.

Testifying October 12, 1941, he admitted having been introduced by Frank King (R. Marquette) at one of these meetings and read a letter from an United States Senator addressed to Jones in which the Senator mentioned a letter in the *Lake Geneva Herald* praising the *National Copperheads*. He also recalled quoting from a letter which purported to be from Senator Nye in which the Senator told him that he could not send out any more copies of letters under the Senator's franking privilege.

He stated he "had an idea" that Robert Noble actually organized the *Friends of Progress*. F. K. Ferenz attended its meetings more or less regularly, according to Jones.

He did not know of the *Friends of Progress* maintaining a bank account. He stated that only Robert Noble had access to the funds of the organization, in addition to himself. No written records were kept. Whenever he needed funds he consulted with Noble. *Friends of Progress* was not incorporated. No one received a salary from the contributions made by its supporters and only the personal expenses of Noble and himself, in addition to the necessary expenses for the organization, were paid out of the contributions.

He identified the literature of the *Friends of Progress*, notably *The Bulletin*. He stated that "we," sometimes Jones, himself, and sometimes only Noble, ran *The Bulletin* off on a mimeograph machine.

Jones had met Robert Noble in either 1933 or 1934, and he knew of Noble's background in a casual way.

He identified handbills put out by the *Friends of Progress* announcing the "Impeachment of President Roosevelt," with Ellis O. Jones acting as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and "assisted by well-known figures." Jones could not recall just who the "well-known figures" were. He stated that Robert Noble was the prosecutor. The impeachment of the President of the United States lasted through four meetings of the *Friends of Progress* and the President was finally "impeached" because "he had betrayed the American people into war."

He stated that the *Friends of Progress* maintained a counter-espionage system in order to determine who the people were who attended the meetings of the *Friends of Progress*.

He admitted that Japan had launched an attack on Pearl Harbor, but denied that Pearl Harbor was part of the United States, and believed that this was also true of the Philippine Islands.

He stated that his brother had conducted a newspaper, *The Press-Post* in Columbus, Ohio, at the time of the assassination of President McKinley.

Daniel Elias Van Meter admitted having attended several meetings of the *Friends of Progress*. (Volume IX, pp. 2815-2824.) He appeared to be well acquainted with Ellis O. Jones, Robert Noble, F. K. Ferenz, Hans Diebel, Herman Max Schwinn and Joan and James McBride. He stated that he met A. M. Windhorst and had heard C. Leon de Aryan speak at a meeting of the *Friends of Progress*. He admitted having seen swastika pins worn by people in attendance at the meetings of the *Friends of Progress*. He said that Miss Leone Menier, Noble's secretary and housekeeper, had warned these people not to wear the pins at the meetings. He denied that he had ever worn a two-inch swastika badge at any of the meetings.

Mrs. Lydia Joan McBride admitted attending Robert Noble's meetings, but was not sure that they were meetings of the *Friends of Progress*. (Volume IX, pp. 2790-2799.) She admitted helping Noble picket Dr. Beauchamp's place of business because the dentist advertised in the *Los Angeles Daily News*. The policy of the *Daily News*, according to Mrs. McBride, was that of the "warmongers."

David Henry Rathbone admitted doing most of the printing for Noble and the *Friends of Progress*. (Volume IX, pp. 2625-2640.) He stated that he was a printer by occupation and that he was 67 years of age and receiving a pension from the State of California. He stated that Noble paid the rent for his place in exchange for the printing that he did for the *Friends of Progress*. He had been engaged in printing since 1928 and had once owned an establishment on Seventh and Hoover in the City of Los Angeles. He admitted doing some writing as well as printing and admitted the authorship of a pamphlet printed by him entitled *The Meanest Joke the Germans Ever Played on the U. S. A.* (The theme of this piece of journalism was that the Germans had played a mean joke on the United States by its scientific developments in the cure of infantile paralysis.) He also admitted having mailed this pamphlet to Congressmen, Senators and "even one to Jack Tenney." He did some other writing as well and admitted a paragraph or two in one of the *Bulletins* of the *Friends of Progress*. He stated that he wrote the material and gave it to Robert Noble. He also had done some printing for Larry Griffith. He occasionally had put out some advertising matter for F. K. Ferenz. He admitted going to meetings of the *America First Committee*. The Van Meter brothers had been very helpful in assisting him to move his printing press to his present address.

He stated that he was "born and raised in a British law family" and that he was born in the United States. He ventured the opinion that President Roosevelt is insane and that he is turning on people who helped him by now making war on Germany. Rathbone did not

believe that Germany or Japan are enemies of the United States. "England is the enemy of everybody," he added. He stated that he saved money out of his food in order to print pamphlets and to mail them out.

He was charged with espionage during World War I and was tried in Fresno, August 5, 1918, for saying that President Woodrow Wilson was a traitor. He was found not guilty and stated that the trial only took eight minutes.

After testifying before the committee he was tried in a Municipal Court of Los Angeles for libel of the President of the United States, duly convicted and sentenced to six months in the Los Angeles County jail.

Robert Noble and Ellis O. Jones were convicted in the Federal Court in Los Angeles, receiving five and four years, respectively. Noble, Jones and the entire coterie of the *Friends of Progress* were subsequently convicted in Sacramento for violation of the Subversive Registration Act passed by the Legislature in 1941.

The case of Robert Noble and his *Friends of Progress* was an important one in the opinion of the members of your committee and of the public as well. It must be recalled that Noble and Jones and others of the *Friends of Progress* were arrested a few days following Pearl Harbor, but, through the orders of Attorney General Francis Biddle of the United States, they were shortly released and the case subsequently dismissed. From that moment the success of the *Friends of Progress* seemed assured and Noble began to fill its meeting room in the Embassy Auditorium. The committee, through its representatives, kept continuous check on Noble and his meetings and finally secured the names and addresses of a substantial number of his followers. He was called again and again before the committee. The newspapers of California, recognizing the threat to National security, played an important part in securing necessary action on the part of Federal and State law-enforcing agencies. The indictment, trials and convictions of Noble, Jones and the rest swiftly followed.

The widespread interest in the case is indicated by the sentiments of one Chuck Martin, writing in the *Brewery Gulch Gazette*, of Bisbee, Arizona, on March 5, 1942. While Mr. Chuck Martin spoke rather inaccurately concerning the facts, and inconsequentially in reference to details, he nevertheless spoke vehemently and with his heart in the right place. His *Brewery Gulch Gazette* article should be of interest to future legislators and historians. It follows:

"Among the assorted screwballs we propagate over here on the West Coast and guarantee constitutional privileges under our sacred Bill of Rights, is one first-class cockroach by the name of Robert Noble. That slimy son is against everything constructive and for everything destructive. He first gained notoriety through the banned Silver Shirts outfit which sought to overthrow the government.

"A bit later he organized a batty combine which he called 'Thirty Every Thursday,' the purpose of which was to force the taxpayers to pay weekly stipends of thirty

bucks to every indigent over 50 years old, said pay day to be every Thursday. He talked at San Diego, motored to Los Angeles, ran his car over another one, seriously injuring several people.

"Then the F. B. I. heeded the pleadings of Walter Winchell and put the finger on this cucaracha for un-American activities. Bond was placed at fifteen grand, but Attorney General Biddle had it reduced to fifteen hundred and this snake got his liberty.

"This past week he testified before the California State Legislature, boldly and publicly declaring that the Japs were within their rights in bombing Pearl Harbor. He amplified this statement to say that the men serving under General MacArthur in the Philippines were not heroes, but plain damn fools. He admitted that he had a dishonorable discharge from the U. S. Army during the first World War, but he said he did not believe in fighting and was only 19 years old at the time. Right then was the time to save him the burden of living any longer. He was a deserter and should have been shot. In fact this sewer bug should be shot right now and if some one would get the Attorney General to look the other way I would be glad to do the job for the price of a .45 cartridge. He admits saying 'Heil Hitler' in a Legion meeting, and the boys certainly must have slipped some Chateau Thierry."

## 8

## THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The *America First Committee* found its inception in the minds of sincere and patriotic individuals strongly opposed to conscription and the entry of the United States into the European War. The majority of the isolationists were undoubtedly sincere. The experience of the United States in the last World War indicated to them, particularly before Pearl Harbor, the futility of participation in the present conflict. The United States had not yet been attacked by any aggressor nation, and many thousands of perfectly good, loyal Americans opposed involvement. While the committee must make this statement in all fairness, it must also point out that however sincere and loyal the majority of the members of such organizations as the *America First Committee* and *National Legion of Mothers of America* may have been, the objectives of such groups coincided in every way with the objectives of Axis agents and Axis-front organizations, such as the *German-American Bund*. For at least 22 months the objectives of the isolationists also corresponded with the objectives of the Communist Party. Hence, the chapters of the *America First Committee* and the *National Legion of Mothers of America* were ideally suited to the purposes of both the Communist Party and the *German-American Bund* when they were collaborating for Hitler's success. The members of the committee suspected this situation and the investigation of the committee's representatives revealed that these suspicions were well-founded.

As early as June of 1941 it was quite obvious that something was wrong with the *America First Committee* in California. Sincere and honest belief in isolation and non-intervention is one thing while open support of such aggressors as Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito and defamation of the President of the United States is quite another. A front page story from the *Pasadena Independent* of Monday, June 16, 1941, graphically illustrates this point. Under the heading "*Mass Meeting Boos President,*" and followed by the subheading "*Pasadena Members of 'America First' Cheer Axis Ideas*" is the following story:

"Cheers for Colonel Lindbergh, silence for Adolph Hitler, Boos for President Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie \* \* \*."

"Thus 250 members of the America First Committee registered their reactions to these individuals at a meeting in the McKinley Junior High School Auditorium addressed by Charles Cobb, acting chairman of the group, and Dr. Michael Francis Dillon, of the faculty at U. C. L. A.

"The audience booed vigorously whenever the names of Churchill, Mrs. Roosevelt, Attorney-General Robert H. Jackson, Senator Claude Pepper and Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York City were mentioned by the speakers.

#### *"Doubt British Victory"*

"Cobb told the audience that he does not believe a British victory either possible or desirable.

#### *"Money Down Rat Hole"*

"Why should the taxpayers throw \$7,000,000,000 down the rat hole of Britain's waning ambitions?" he asked. "We should campaign to repeal the Lend-Lease Bill."

"He read at length from an interview in *Life Magazine* given to former Ambassador Cudahy by Hitler, in which the Fuehrer said that at no time had his intentions toward this country been inimical. Cobb then quoted portions of a *New York Times* editorial answering Hitler, in which it was pointed out that declarations of friendship had preceded most of Hitler's invasions.

"Raising his head to look at the audience and spacing his words to permit booing for each name, Cobb then asked: 'And who are the owners of the *New York Times*? Ochs-Adler-Sulzberger!'

#### *"Cheers for Hitler"*

"Cobb said that most Americans regard Hitler as a liar and a criminal, and added: 'I am not here to eulogize or defend Hitler. He seems able to do that himself.' The audience cheered.

"Cobb went on to say that the Germans were forced to sign the Treaty of Versailles at the 'point of a gun.'

"There still is such a thing as retribution," he said. "England and France are paying for their perfidy in blood, sweat and tears."

*"Says Public Deceived"*

"He then mentioned the names of the President and several others who have expressed strong opposition to the Nazi aims, and declared that the people of the United States had not been told the truth about Germany.

"Did these people tell you the truth about Czechoslovakia?" he inquired. "The fact is that Czechoslovakia was a dagger pointed at the heart of Germany. But they would fight to the bitter end to save Palestine and the British Empire."

Dillon scoffed at the idea that Germany had invaded democracies, listing each of the overrun countries and commenting that none of them were democratic. He pictured England as an autocracy, an 'Old Man of the Sea' clinging to the backs of subject peoples.

*"Eulogizes Lindbergh"*

"Referring to Lindbergh as a great patriot, he asked: 'Who is the Copperhead, Lindbergh or the President?' The audience roared back: 'Roosevelt!'

*"American Gestapo"*

"He referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation as an 'American Gestapo,' persecuting political minorities, and called the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities a 'tool of the F. B. I.'

"Roosevelt knows that he cannot defeat Fascism by the Sword," Dillon said. The audience cheered wildly.

"In closing the meeting, Cobb said that if the President got the country into war, 'I for one will not follow him. If this be treason, make the most of it.'

"Copies of *Social Justice*, Father Coughlin's Jew-baiting weekly magazine, were sold to the members as they left the auditorium."

Witnesses testifying in reference to the activities of the *America First Committee* are as follows:

George T. Baker	John L. Riemer
Frank D. Barry	William H. Sahli
Katherine Dixon Barry	John A. Sherman
Ben S. Beery	Frances Sherrill
Samuel L. Brogden	Edith Marion Shol
Earl C. Craig	Baron F. Van Meter
Bishop Tarkington Dowden	Daniel E. Van Meter
Ellis O. Jones	James A. Van Meter
James Morrison McBride	Alfred John Lewis Wesling
Lydia Joan McBride	John L. Wheeler
G. Allison Phelps	William P. Williams

James and Joan McBride, F. K. Ferenz and others, definitely known to have been connected with the *German-American Bund* and the *Friends of Progress* were found to be enthusiastic participants in meetings of the *America First Committee*. Such vicious anti-Semites as C. Leon de Aryan admitted that he was a member of the organization from the beginning and that he attended its meetings regularly. (Volume VIII, pp. 2273-2304.)

Ben S. Beery testified before the committee October 16, 1941, and again on February 23, 1942. He was the chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Seventeenth District of the *American Legion* in Los Angeles. Mr. Beery and his committee had done considerable work investigating Nazi activities in Los Angeles County. (Volume IX, pp. 2529-2571.)

Beery testified that many persons formerly active in the *German-American Bund* and frequent visitors at the Deutsches Haus in Los Angeles had become very active in the *America First Committee*. At the time of testifying these persons were continuing their activities in many cases. It was Mr. Beery's opinion that the original membership of the *America First Committee* was composed of sincere and honest citizens but that leaders, such as Ellis O. Jones, Benjamin Franklin Ballard, and Leone Menier, were using the *America First Committee* for sinister purposes.

He testified that Benjamin Franklin Ballard was holding "secret cell" meetings attended by from 5 to 10 persons in private homes throughout the city.

Mr. Beery attended the Wendell Willkie meeting in Hollywood Bowl July 23, 1941. (Volume IV, pp. 965-988.) (It will be recalled that this meeting was picketed.) He testified that he personally saw James and Joan McBride among the pickets.

Baron Frederick Van Meter did not hesitate to say that he was a member of the *America First Committee*. (Volume IV, pp. 989-1014.) He was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He picketed the Wendell Willkie meeting at the Hollywood Bowl with his brothers, William and Daniel. He stated that he belonged to the Wilshire branch of the *America First Committee*.

Daniel Elias Van Meter stated that he could not remember attending any meetings of the *America First Committee*. (Volume IX, pp. 2815-2824.) Later in his testimony he admitted having attended several meetings of this group.

James Adams Van Meter denied that he had ever belonged to the *America First Committee*.

Mrs. Lydia Joan McBride, wife of James M. McBride, admitted picketing the Wendell Willkie meeting at the Hollywood Bowl. She stated that she learned about the prospective picketing at an *America First Committee* meeting on Wilshire Boulevard. She agreed 100 per cent with the principles of the *America First Committee*, although denied belonging to the organization. (Volume IV, pp. 1062-1070, 1080.)

When again subpoenaed February 24, 1942, Mrs. McBride was not sure whether or not she was member of the organization. (Volume IX, pp. 2790-2799.)

John L. Riemer admitted having signed a membership card for membership in the *America First Committee* and stated that he believed himself to be a member.

Harold A. Sparling denied that he was a member of the *America First Committee* but stated paradoxically that he was connected with it indirectly in San Francisco. (Volume III, pp. 714-744.) He claimed that he had met Senator Wheeler and Senator Hiram Johnson in Washington prior to the Philharmonic Auditorium meeting in Los Angeles and stated that Senator Johnson had told him to "go back and fight for America." He also stated that he had had an interview with General Wood of the *America First Committee* in the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco. The *True Americans* was created by Sparling and had as its purpose, according to his testimony, the isolation of the United States from the European war. Louise Ward Watkins was among those whom Sparling claimed helped finance the organization. (Volume III, pp. 742-743.)

James Morrison McBride denied having helped organize a chapter of the *America First Committee* in Los Angeles. (Volume IV, pp. 935-964.) He admitted, however, building a cabinet for, and making donations to, the organization.

Ellis O. Jones stated that he was one of the first members of the *America First Committee* in Los Angeles, but that he later resigned. (Volume IV, pp. 1187-1190.) He came to the defense of Baron Frederick Van Meter by stating that Van Meter had never signed a formal application card for membership. He read a letter to the committee which he received from the headquarters of the organization thanking him for his communications to Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. Testifying February 23, 1942 (Volume IX, pp. 2489-2528) Jones stated that he had never actually become a member of the committee. He elaborated upon this statement by saying that he did not agree fully with the policy of the organization: "there were certain inhibitions," etc. He recalled that he had met Dr. Ernest Kramer and T. W. Hughes at meetings of the *America First Committee*.

Frank D. Barry, a Los Angeles attorney and member of the executive committee, was a voluntary witness on behalf of the *America First Committee*, October 15, 1941. (Volume III, pp. 841-843.) John L. Wheeler and Mrs. Henry L. Arme were also members of the executive committee of this organization. Mr. Barry undoubtedly expressed the sentiments of a majority of the organizers of the California chapters of the *America First Committee*. These people, for the greater part, believed that the interests of the United States would be best served by avoiding involvement in the European conflict.

Barry admitted that he had spoken at a meeting of the *Save America First Forum*, conducted by T. W. Hughes. He admitted having heard anti-Semitic sentiments expressed by the people who follow Hughes. He stated that he was not "antianything." He believed that free speech includes the right to speak concerning groups and races as well as of people. He apparently was anti-British and read an excerpt from a speech he had made at the *Save America First Forum* which was directed against "imperialist" England.

Bishop Tarkington Dowden attended about 40 meetings of the *America First Committee* and spoke at several such meetings. (Vol-

ume IV, pp. 1175-1187.) He said that he had nothing against the Jewish people and claimed that he did business with them. He felt that Harry Warner of Warner Brothers Motion Pictures, Inc., was "un-American" because of a speech reported to have been made by Harry Warner to the employees of the studio on June 5, 1940. Harry Warner's speech, according to Dowden, indicated that Warner was "trying to lead this country into war."

He attended the Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh rally in the Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles.

On September 19, 1941, Dowden was photographed addressing a meeting of the *America First Committee* in Pasadena. At that time members of the Americanism Committee of the Seventeenth District of the American Legion, under the chairmanship of Ben S. Beery, reported Dowden as stating:

"I believe in fighting fire with fire and there is only one way to combat this vicious pro-British doctrine in our schools and that's the whispering campaign \* \* \* gossip, our grandmothers would have called it. Our educational system through the years has been built upon a high standard of personal morals \* \* \* the first hint that the morals of a teacher or professor were irregular called for immediate dismissal. This is your method of attack. If the 80 or so people here tonight would make up their minds to go out of here tonight and start a whispering campaign attacking the morals of the offending teachers and professors, I am sure it wouldn't take long to eliminate them."

Dowden denied that he had ever made the above-quoted statement. He concluded his testimony by pointing out that "Russian sympathizers" who had attended meetings addressed by him had applauded his statements during the collaboration of Russia and Germany, but that after Germany attacked Russia, the same people "booed."

John L. Wheeler was a volunteer witness in behalf of the *America First Committee*. (Volume III, pp. 843-845 and Volume IV, pp. 1030-1045.) He first appeared before the committee October 15, 1941, to submit arguments in defense of the *America First Committee*. He returned on October 16, 1941, and stated that he was the chairman of the Southern California Branch Division of the organization. He stated that the principles of the *America First Committee* were to keep America out of foreign wars, to build defense and for humanitarian aid to Great Britain. He stated that the organization excludes Fascists, Nazis, Communists and members of the Bund, but that the organization is otherwise open to all patriotic American citizens.

He stated that, with the exception of William S. Hunt, individuals such as the Van Meter brothers, F. K. Ferenz and others had no part in the policy forming bodies of the *America First Committee*. He stated that the organization deplored anything which tended to cause racial hatred.

William P. Williams had published and distributed a number of leaflets and mimeographed material decidedly anti-Semitic in character. In *Questions, Please*, he urged the formation of cells of from three to

seven persons and suggested that these small groups meet in homes without publicity to "stop the revolution the anti-Christians are plotting against all existing Gentile governments and all civilization."

He testified October 14, 1941. (Volume III, pp. 700-714.) He stated that he was a high school science teacher in North Hollywood Junior High School and that he had resigned as Chief Pilot of T. W. A. six or seven years ago.

He was the Chairman of the North Hollywood (San Fernando Valley) Branch of the *America First Committee* which was started in July of 1941. He admitted that he had investigated the *German American Bund* and did not desire to affiliate with it "any more than with the Communist group." He admitted that he had visited the Deutsches Haus and the *Aryan Book Store* conducted by Hans Diebel. He stated he "might" have attended a meeting at the home of Carolyn Blarcom in Pasadena. He admitted meeting William G. Moffet at Carolyn Blarcom's home, and stated that it was "a meeting to determine how best to cope with some of our subversive elements and our subversivism \* \* \*."

He admitted having seen "a few copies" of the *Christian Free Press* and admitted having purchased literature from the *Aryan Book Store* in the Deutsches Haus.

He denied having mimeographed and distributed a paper entitled *Questions, Please*, and stated that he had never seen the paper which was submitted to him for examination, and from which the above quotation was taken. He later returned to the witness stand (Volume III, pp. 719-840) and "remembered" that *Questions, Please* was a partial copy of a booklet which he ran off on his mimeograph machine around the first part of 1941. He could not recall the exact date or how many he had duplicated. He stated that he had copied it from material that he had received, even though he failed to credit its sources. Upon examination he admitted that he could not recall the sources. He stated that he did not even subscribe to the sentiments expressed in the paper, but later added, "Not exactly, that is."

He now recalled receiving material from Father Coughlin and from Reverend Gerald Winrod and remembered that he had received permission to quote such material. He then recalled inserting material against the Jews, but stated that he did not feel that way about it at the time of testifying. He remembered instructing readers to organize into small groups of three to seven and to meet in their homes and "Stop the revolution the anti-Christians are plotting against all existing Gentile governments and all civilization," but, at the time of testifying, felt that his position at the time of putting out the paper was incorrect.

Williams' memory became better and better as time went on. He remembered running off a booklet of six pages entitled "*Do You Know?*" He also was able to remember taking material from a booklet *Americans, Awake* including anti-Semitic quotations and references to *Internationalist Jew Race*. His memory became so refreshed that he was able to recall listing material from Alex Varonaeff's book, *Christians Under the Hammer and Sickle* in reference to the fiction that all Jews are Communists. He stated that he had visited Communist book stores and had seen Jews in charge and claimed that the Jews control the press, the radio and films.

## KU KLUX KLAN

William H. Sahli was a Kleagle of the *Ku Klux Klan* and an organizer for Los Angeles when he first testified October 16, 1941. (Volume IV, pp. 1045-1058.) Sahli was a belligerent witness. He testified the second time March 24, 1942. (Volume X, pp. 2934-2960.) He called the organization *The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* and gave the address as Post-office Box 1055, Los Angeles. He offered into the record of the committee a pamphlet entitled *America for Americans*, bearing a robed and hooded figure on the cover. He commented that the Klan did not use hoods any more but retained the robes. He stated that the principles of the *Ku Klux Klan* were wholly American and outlined the organizational structure and membership requirements (Volume IV, pp. 1050-1051). He stated that only pure white Christian Gentiles who were "good Americans" were eligible for membership. Jews, Negroes and Catholics are barred. He admitted that the organization resorts to the use of "man power, when necessary," but not to violence.

The *Ku Klux Klan* has various local units in Los Angeles, but maintains no headquarters, according to Sahli. He stated that he did not know of any other headquarters than that which was maintained in Atlanta, Georgia. He had been a member of the *Ku Klux Klan* in Los Angeles since July, 1941, and had been appointed Kleagle by the "man in charge," a Mr. Harvey, who was the "supreme representative" in the West. He explained that the Cyclops is the officer in charge of meetings,—the chairman. He stated that the meetings of the group are called "conclaves." He would not divulge the details of the organization of the *Ku Klux Klan* in California. He admitted that "business meetings" are still held twice a month. The initiation fee is \$10 and the dues are \$6 a year. The initiation fees are kept by the local unit for expenses and the dues are sent to the headquarters in Georgia. He stated that the Kleagle had nothing to do with the collecting of dues. The main duties of this office is to secure members. The organization is ritualistic. He denied ever having heard of the title of "Titan" and did not know what the duties of a "Dragon" were.

Sahli stated that he had been a "fighter" for the *America First Committee*, but that he had never officially joined the organization. He had been acquainted with the Van Meter brothers for some time and volunteered that they were "good Americans."

When testifying March 24, 1942 (Volume X, pp. 2934-2960), Sahli claimed that he had "demitted" from the *Ku Klux Klan*. He explained that this meant that he was merely inactive but that he could become active again at any time. He admitted, however, attending a meeting of the organization within 10 days previous to testifying and stated that it was a special meeting "on account of war." Regular meetings of the organization had been discontinued. Pressed for the address of the meeting place of the organization, Sahli flatly refused to divulge that information, but volunteered that it was held near the Biltmore Hotel in the City of Los Angeles. He claimed that he did not know the exact address. He stated that he had given an oath that he would not divulge any of the secrets of the Klan and that he respected the "authority" of this oath more than he respected the authority of the

State of California. His reason for "demitting" was because one of his relatives was dying and he might have to go East hurriedly. The meetings attended by Sahli were composed of 40 or 50 members, according to his testimony.

He stated that the *Ku Klux Klan* was "hot on the tail" of the Communists. The organization was in contact with the F. B. I. and the police department. He claimed that the organization had investigated Nazis, but that they were not much concerned about them as they were only interested in what was going on in America. "They don't like Communism worth a darn—that's why I joined," Sahli added. He had taken "a little look at some of these boys," referring to members of the *German-American Bund*, and implied that he thought they were all right—that they were merely humiliated. He believed Japan to be the enemy of the United States, had no time for Stalin and no respect for Hitler.

Samuel L. Brogden was the original director and organizer for the *America First Committee* for northern California. He stated that he began his duties in this position in February of 1941. He admitted being a member but claimed that he was not very active. (Volume VII, pp. 2025-2036.)

George T. Baker testified in San Francisco, December 5, 1941 (Volume VII, pp. 1980-2007), that he was once the Chairman of the George Washington Chapter of the *America First Committee* in San Francisco. He stated that he discontinued his association with the *America First Committee* because its chairman, a Mr. Tehaney, objected to Baker reading from Father Coughlin's books at the meetings of the chapter.

## PART V

### FASCIST ACTIVITIES

#### 1

#### History

With the close of World War I, political and industrial turmoil convulsed Italy as it did other parts of Europe. The dislocations and readjustments of the postwar era caused widespread distress among the Italian people. Demobilized Italian soldiers found extremely high prices and widespread unemployment upon their return to home communities. Many of the Italian people felt that they had been harshly dealt with at the Peace Conference and the general discontent throughout the country created a condition which was unusually favorable for radical agitation.

As may be expected, the Communist Party of Italy did not let such an opportunity slip by. Strikes were called throughout the country and the Communists believed the moment for the revolution had arrived. Factories and manufacturing plants were seized and revolutionary tribunals set up in the best approved Soviet style. Blood and violence swept the country and many political leaders were assassinated. It appeared that Italy was slipping into the orbit of the *Third International*.

The war and its readjustments and dislocations had left the government of Italy in a weakened condition and it was too inefficient to maintain law and order under the distressful conditions that followed through 1919 and 1920.

In March of 1919, a former militant Socialist, Benito Mussolini, just mustered out of the Army, organized a group of Italians in Milan. He adopted the *fasces* of ancient Rome as a symbol of obedience to law. The *fasces* is represented by a bundle of birch and elm rods bound together by a red thong, in the middle of which is an ax. From this symbol Mussolini's group took its name, *Fascists*. A black shirt was chosen as a distinguishing mark of dress. They were moved by no other force than the ambition of their leader, Benito Mussolini, the tactics of the Communist Party and the inefficiency of the government to check the disorders which were breaking down the social and economic fabric of the nation.

The Communists of Italy, as was true of the Communists of Germany during the same period, in their fanatical attempt to destroy the existing order to make way for the dictatorship of the proletariat, created an equally ruthless and terrorizing opposition—not from the government itself, but from anti-Communist elements in the Nation. By 1920 the Fascists were meeting Communist violence with Fascist violence. In 1921 Mussolini's black shirts became established as a regular political party and in 1922 they had grown strong enough to take control of the government.

In October of 1922 a general mobilization of the Fascists from all over Italy was ordered. On Sunday morning, October 13, 1922, the black-shirted columns converged on Rome. King Victor Emanuel III, seeing the futility of declaring martial law, sent immediately for Mussolini. Mussolini complied with the King's request and that day became the Premier of a new Italian cabinet.

Not quite so quickly and not quite as brutally and ruthlessly as Hitler, Mussolini, nevertheless, as surely and completely, consolidated his power and within a period of five years had carried Italy from a liberal parliamentary Democracy to a totalitarian corporate state in which only the producers were given the privilege of participating in political life.

He crushed opposition relentlessly and placed rigid restrictions upon the press. By power-politics a series of laws were enacted, gradually relinquishing the powers of the legislative branch of the government and placing them in the hands of the executive. By 1928 Benito Mussolini was the Dictator of Fascist Italy. Then came the Ethiopian conquest, the Berlin-Rome Pact and the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Anti-Comintern Pact. Mussolini fancied himself a modern Caesar of a new Roman Empire.

## 2

### Theory

While Italian *Fascism* antedates Hitler's *Naziism* by a little over 10 years, its fundamental theories are very similar. There is little doubt but that Hitler, in his opportunistic political career, drew heavily on both Communism and Italian Fascism for the tenets of his program for the New Order in Europe. Benito Mussolini, at least, appears to have been somewhat original in the field, although the *philosophy*, if any, of *Fascism* was superimposed upon his usurpation of power over the Italian people after his domination of the Nation was complete.

Out of the confusion a few facts appear obvious. The essence of *Fascism* is the complete elimination of democratic institutions, principles and procedures and the establishment of a disciplined minority under a strong totalitarian dictatorship. Like Communism and *Naziism*, *Fascism* exercises ruthless violence in the suppression of opposition. Launched as an actual frontal attack on the Italian Government with civil war as the alternative, Mussolini and his conspirators did not find it necessary, in the beginning, to resort to the establishment of networks of underground sabotage and subversive activities.

The ruthless destruction of all instruments of self-government, freedom of the press, free speech and assembly, characterized *Fascism*'s rise in Italy. The judiciary, as under Hitler, was made an instrument of the Fascist faith without a semblance of independence. Strict control over radio, newspapers and all other means of communication and information is enforced by the Fascist State as a means of keeping the people in subjection and training them in the new ideology of totalitarianism.

The Fascist State, like the Third Reich and Soviet Russia, is a one-party State. Opposition parties are promptly, viciously, and thoroughly liquidated. The use of police and special agents in ferreting

out and breaking up opposition organizations is continuously carried on. Religious, intellectual, recreational, athletic and similar non-political organizations are directly under the control of Fascist authority. Parliamentary procedure and legislative bodies are dissolved and the Dictator rules by decrees.

Like Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy is everything and the citizen is nothing. The exaltation of the State over the individual may be said to be the essence of its philosophy. While private property is said to be protected, the State extends its control over the Nation's industry, agriculture, commerce, education and similar activities.

Anti-Semitism does not appear to have been an important plank in the Fascist platform in the beginning. The anti-Jewish campaign in Italy became noticeable after Hitler began to exercise influence over Mussolini.

The spearhead of Fascist activities in California was found to be in San Francisco. Your committee and its representatives had made a study of the situation in California covering many months before finally deciding on public hearings in the San Francisco Bay area. The following witnesses testified:

Rudolph Altrocchi	Leo Ostaggi
Sylvester Andriano	Mario Parisi
Paul Bibily	Ettore Patrizi
Harry R. Bridges	Mario L. Perasso
Archie Brown	Giovacchini Pisani
Mrs. Carola Bruschera	Ottorino Ronchi
Joseph Civinini	Angelo Rossi
A. M. Cogliandro	Alfredo Segre
Rose M. Fanucchi	Henrietta Setaro
Anthony S. Fiore	L. A. Townsend
Christine Galdieri	Gilbert Tuoni
Dr. Modesto Giordano	Renzo Turco
Nicholas Ilacqua	Charles Henry Tutt
Rino G. Lanzoni	Vinezenzo Zirpoli
Philip G. Lasky	Carmelo Zito
Renato Marazzini	George T. Baker
Vincent Melella	

#### FASCIST PROPAGANDA CHANNELS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CALIFORNIA

An impetus to Fascist propaganda in the United States and California might have been noticeable after Hitler's rise to power in Germany at the time of the Berlin-Rome Pact. It does not appear to have been as intense nor as successful as Nazi propaganda. This may indicate a deeper sense of loyalty in the hearts of American-born Italians than in American-born Germans. It may mean that the German people have been longer subjected to the "German Kultur," racial superiority ideologies and absolutism of monarchy and leadership than the Italian people. In any event the committee has not found the Italian people in California associating with subversive

groups to the same extent as have German-Americans. This statement is not to be construed as casting any reflection on the German-Americans as a whole. The studies of your committee indicate that a great majority of German-American and Italian-American people in the United States are intensely loyal and devoted citizens of the United States. The subversive German-American and Italian-American are the exceptions and not the rule.

Carmelo Zito, the editor and publisher of an Italian language newspaper, *Il Corriere del Popolo*, and an anti-Fascist, testified at length on Fascist activities and propaganda in San Francisco. (Volume XII, pp. 3344-3377.)

He was born in Oppido Mamartino, Italy. He served in the Italian Army in the first World War and came to New York December 19, 1923. He became a naturalized citizen of the United States November 9, 1938. He had lived in San Francisco since 1931 and had been the editor and publisher of the *Il Corriere del Popolo* since September of 1935. He narrated the history of the newspaper, which was founded in 1910 by a Mr. Pedritti, whom he designated as a "liberal" and who, in 1922, wrote against Fascism. Pedritti was a follower of the Italian patriot, Mazzini. Zito claimed that he had continued the Pedritti policy in the *Il Corriere del Popolo* despite considerable abuse from the Italian colony in San Francisco. He stated that most of the Italian businessmen in the area depended on the import trade from Italy and, therefore, were economically obligated to preserve good relationships with the official Italian Government. Because of this economic pressure, Zito stated, the Italian businessmen were compelled to boycott the *Il Corriere del Popolo*.

He named the most important pro-Fascist publications as *L'Italia*, a daily newspaper edited by Ettore Patrizi, *La Voce del Popolo*, also edited by Patrizi, *Il Leone*, the official bulletin of the *Sons of Italy*, and the defunct *La Rassegna Commerciale*, the official organ of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* in San Francisco. He stated that the *La Rassegna Commerciale* had been discontinued when the United States Government closed the San Francisco Italian consulate. The editor of the *La Rassegna Commerciale* had been Camille Brancchi who, according to Zito, went to Buenos Aires, South America, to continue his Fascist work.

He described Fascist propaganda used in radio programs in the Italian language through the bay area radio stations. He named *La Voce del Italia* on KROW (which he said was still on the air, although innocuous since Pearl Harbor), as being sponsored by Ettore Patrizi, the editor of *L'Italia*. He stated that Patrizi in one broadcast had declared that Mussolini was ruling Italy with an "injection of love." He branded a radio program by Gelsi Medeot, started in 1936 over Radio Station KROW, and still continuing, as a disseminator of Fascist propaganda. He stated that since Pearl Harbor the Medeot program had turned to selling war bonds and broadcasting news of the Mazzini Society. Formerly this program had found Mussolini the most popular man in the world by a huge majority vote. A third radio program, which stopped after Pearl Harbor, was broadcast over Radio Station KRE. The announcer was a man by the name of Francesconi, who is now interned in Montana by the United States Government. Zito

stated that he had used figures of "Uncle Sam," "Mary Ann" and "John Bull" to mock the democracies and carried the advertising of the *Rossi Cigar Company*. Another program had been broadcast over Radio Station KLS in Oakland and was sponsored by Arthur de Nunzio. This program purported to be a news broadcast and, Zito declared, after December 7, 1941, one of the announcers was apprehended by the Federal Bureau of Investigation—a man by the name of Angelo Bacoccini, who was also an editor of the *Sons of Italy's* publication, *Il Leone*. This same Angelo Bacoccini, according to Zito, was a teacher in the San Francisco Italian language school which he unequivocally branded as Fascistic.

He stated that he had clipped pictures and slogans from the textbooks used in the San Francisco Italian language schools and had made composite photostatic copies and translations and had sent them to Mayor Angelo J. Rossi of San Francisco and to the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of California in January of 1936. He stated that no action whatsoever followed. In 1937 a Captain Lane of the San Francisco Police Department, had a bill introduced in the State Senate to bring the Italian language schools under the supervision of the Board of Education, but, Zito declared, "it was killed by Sylvester Andriano's lobbying in Sacramento."

He told of another pro-Fascist program over Radio Station KLS sponsored by a man named Guaragna. He stated that this program was for the collection of gold rings from the Italian women in the Italian colony in San Francisco to be sent to Italy to aid Mussolini's cause in Ethiopia. He stated that some \$40,000 had been collected, \$10,000 of which was donated through the Grand Lodge of the *Sons of Italy*. He stated that San Francisco Scavengers' Association had contributed labor and work free of charge for this cause in contrast to the Association's present demand for \$9 per ton for the collection of scrap metal for the United States. (The association had formerly asked \$16 a ton but reduced it to \$9 after public protest.) He named Sylvester Andriano as a member of this association—the "honorary President."

He cited the case of Dr. Joseph Facci, whom, he contended, sponsored an anti-Fascist broadcast which was boycotted. Dr. Facci was removed from his position as Secretary of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* for his anti-Fascist work. Dr. Facci is now with Archibald Mac Leish in the Office of Facts and Figures in Washington, D. C.

He called the attention of the committee to another radio broadcast in Los Angeles which was sponsored by *La Parola*, an Italian language newspaper in that city. He stated that this publication was definitely pro-Fascist. He declared that the Bank of America had financed all Italian broadcasts and had put the "squeeze" on papers of an anti-Fascist nature.

He named Gianni Cardellini of Los Angeles as an individual who had sponsored a Fascist radio program. He stated that Cardellini was now interned in Montana as a dangerous alien.

He narrated the history of *Fugazi Hall* and the activities emanating from it. He said that only one Italian language school had existed in San Francisco prior to the advent of Fascism in Italy. This one school then branched out and 36 units existed throughout the State of California at the time Zito testified. He detailed the supervision by

the Italian consuls in San Francisco of the Italian language schools and stated that the Italian Government had sent teachers to California and had furnished the textbooks without charge. The teachers came to the Italian Consulate with diplomatic passports and immediately fled to Italy when war clouds gathered. These Italian teachers taught Fascism "pure and simple"; gave the Fascist salute in school and sang the Fascist National Anthem, *Giovinezza*.

He stated that the term "*Roberto*" had been coined for the *Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis*. Many of the Italians in San Francisco's colony declared that "*Roberto*" would win the war." Fascist agents and sympathizers kept up a constant stream of propagandizing throughout the Italian colony.

He emphatically declared that he had personally seen Mayor Angelo J. Rossi give the stiff-armed Fascist salute in public in the Scottish Rite Auditorium and that, because of this conduct on the part of the Mayor, Fascism had received a "sort of official blessing," and the Italians in San Francisco accepted it.

He explained the meaning of the term "*Fascio*." He stated that the Fascist Party name is *Partito Nasionale Fascista* and that the Society *Fascio Umberto Nobile* (the name of the San Francisco Fascist Unit), was taken from the name of an Italian aviator-explorer. The *Fascio Umberto Nobile Society* was disbanded in 1930 by the Fascist Party in Rome. Another society, *Littorio*, was founded in New York to take its place, but this organization operated over the United States in a much more secret manner than the former organization. He personally did not know that San Francisco had a branch.

He branded the association of Italian war veterans, the *Ex-Combatenti Society*, as Fascist. He stated that most of its leaders in San Francisco had been apprehended by the Federal Bureau of Investigation after December 7, 1941. The *Dante Alighieri Society* was also branded as a Fascist group. Most of these latter-named organizations met at *Fugazi Hall*.

He told the committee of excursions for Italian-American children to Italy from San Francisco and stated that these trips had been financed by the Italian Government. He stated that the first of these excursions took place in 1936. The best children in the Italian language schools were selected and upon arrival in Italy immediately swore allegiance to Mussolini. He stated that many of the Fascist sympathizers exercise dual citizenship and were, in fact, subjects of Italy. The excursion of 1938 had been called off "at the last minute" when the children were in New York waiting for transportation across the Atlantic. He stated that pictures of the children giving Mussolini the Fascist salute were run in magazines circulated in San Francisco.

He stated that the pro-Fascist press in San Francisco had "deified" Mussolini prior to the declaration of war. The Italian colony was miserably confused and apparently could not understand why the United States Government would declare war on the "sainted Mussolini."

Zito stated that the *Mazzini Society* had sent a circular to 52 Italian-American associations in San Francisco in May of 1942 in reference to their American loyalty and requested cooperation of the Italian-American communities in a public manifestation of their loyalty to

America and their condemnation of Fascism. Out of the 52 Italian-American associations, only two gave full assent and five gave partial assent. He stated that most of the Italians and the Italian associations in San Francisco now state that they are for the war and want the United States to win, but that they don't want to commit themselves as "anti-anything." He pointed out that there exists an *Ernest Smith Committee*, also known as the *Win-the-War Committee*, with headquarters in *Fugazi Hall*, but stated that it will not commit itself as to being "anti-Fascist."

He told of a floral float which had been made for the Mothers Day Parade by the Florists Association of San Francisco. He stated that the maker had devised three bouquets which were to signify the heads of Mussolini, Hitler and Hirohito respectively, but that they were prevented from labeling them and, therefore, the public lost the significance of what the bouquets purported to indicate.

Alfredo Segre was born in Turin, Italy, and holds a doctorate from the University of Turin which he received in 1930. (Volume X, pp. 3027-3037.) He spent considerable time on the African Gold Coast, served in the Italian Army and visited Egypt. He is the author of a novel published in 1933 which won the National Public Contest in Italy, which honor corresponds to the Pulitzer Prize. He spent some time in France and came to the United States in May of 1939.

Upon leaving the Gold Coast and returning to Italy, he conferred with one of the ministers of the Fascist High Command concerning the economic situation in the Italian colonies of Africa.

He stated that he had studied the principles and doctrines of Fascism thoroughly and that he was completely against them. He said it was very difficult to define just what Fascism actually is as there existed in Italy a dispute as to where, how and who originated it. He was perfectly willing to accredit the ideas to Mussolini.

He told the committee of the feuds and struggles in Italy at the period previous and just after Mussolini took power. He stated that he did not believe there were Italian Fascist fifth columnists at work in the United States. He believed that the German elements were directing subversive organization work from New York, but did not believe there were any propagandizing efforts being made by the Fascists in the Italian colonies in California. He felt that it was quite natural for the Italians in the United States to be enthusiastic about the achievements of the Fascisti in Italy.

Segre's testimony was somewhat inconsistent and at odds with the information he had given to committee representatives prior to testifying in open hearing. While he admitted that there were some 95 pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi newspapers printed in German and Italian in the United States, he did not believe that there were any propagandizing efforts being made by the Fascists in the Italian colonies in California. After a tirade against Fascism couched in explosive language to interviewers in private, Segre's performance on the witness stand came as a mild surprise to committee members.

Mario Parisi, the operator of the *Princess Theatre* located at 1596 Church Street in San Francisco, admitted that he exhibited foreign films. (Volume VII, pp. 2036-2039.) He stated that he did not exhibit propaganda films and that the only films of this character

known to him were those that were coming out of Russia, such as the *Mannerheim Line* which was shown at the *Miami Theatre* and at the *Larkin Theatre* within recent months. He stated that the *Clay Theatre* also exhibits Russian films.

Rose M. Fanucchi stated that she was an attorney for a radio program over Radio Station KLS. (Volume XIII, pp. 3540-3555.) She admitted that Angelo Bacoccina had been the announcer on this program. She claimed that she did not know of any Fascist propaganda disseminated through this program. She admitted, however, that Bacoccina was "unfortunately" in a concentration camp.

Philip G. Lasky, General Manager of Radio Station KROW, addressed a letter to the committee denying allegations formerly made by witnesses that Radio Station KROW had permitted the broadcasting of Fascist propaganda. (Volume XIII, pp. 3593-3594.) The letter was read into the record. Lasky stated that the present owners of the station had taken over its management August 30, 1939, and had, during their supervision, maintained strict censorship over all radio programs and had not permitted Fascist propaganda to go on the air. He stated that the Italian language programs had continued with the knowledge and permission and under the regulations of the Federal Communications Commission. He stated that since June 20, 1940, transcriptions of each Italian broadcast had been made and that they were on file. He denied that the testimony of Carmelo Zito properly reflected the policies of the Italian programs on Radio Station KROW.

Renato Marrazzini was the bookkeeper for the *L'Italia Press Company*. (Volume XIII, pp. 3618-3623.) He was born in Italy and became a naturalized citizen in 1926. He has held his present position with the *L'Italia Press Company* since 1915 and during that time up to 1939 was in charge of the circulation department. Since 1939 Marrazzini has been the business manager of the paper. He stated that Patrizi employs the personnel. He could only recall the employment of a part-time worker, a Mr. Delizo, during the past two years. He stated that Mr. Delizo was assigned to special Pacific Coast news.

The circulation of *L'Italia* was around 12,000 and the circulation of *La Voce del Popolo* was between 5,000 and 6,000. This circulation was *paid circulation*. He confirmed Miss Setaro's testimony by stating that the largest advertisers of these Italian language papers were the *Bank of America* and *Lachman Brothers*. He admitted that the newspapers sponsored a radio program and that the largest advertiser on the program was the *Rossi Cigar Company*. He presented the committee with the advertising rates for the papers.

He admitted that he had owned stock in *L'Italia Press Corporation* since 1917.

Leo Ostaggi is a bank clerk in the *Bank of America* in San Francisco. (Volume XIII, pp. 3627-3632.) Part of his duties consist in translating advertising matter for the bank. He stated that he received the material from the *Charles Stewart Company*. He also checked up on advertising copy in the foreign language (Italian) newspapers. He admitted that the *Bank of America* gave no advertising copy to the *Il Corriere*.

Ostaggi was born in Italy and came to the United States in 1913. He went back to Italy and fought in the Italian army as a lieutenant with the Alpine Troops during the first World War. He returned to the United States in 1920 and became a naturalized citizen May 7, 1926, in Los Angeles.

He had worked for the Bank of America for 20 years. He admitted having a very wide acquaintance in the Italian colony in San Francisco. He was the President of the *Ex-Combattenti Society* in 1938 and held this office for about 10 months. He attended meetings in *Fugazi Hall* and sent the rent money (which amounted to \$26 monthly) to the janitor, Mr. Botticco. The money was sent by check, made payable to Botticco. He believed that Sylvester Andriano had something to do with the *Fugazi Hall* organization. There were between 40 or 50 active members in the *Ex-Combattenti Society* at the time he was president, and the organization carried some 120 members on its rolls. The dues were 50 cents monthly and the organization met once a month. It had two secretaries during his regime as president, a Mr. Giovachini and a Mr. Gutladavo. The secretary handled the finances of the *Ex-Combattenti Society*.

In his employment for the *Bank of America* he clipped ads from *La Rassegna* and read the publication. He did not know that the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* had been registered with the United States Department of State as an agent of the Italian Government. He claimed that the advertising copy distribution was not determined by him, but that "some one from the Stewart agency" handled it.

Ostaggi declared that he had only examined one textbook used by the Italian language schools.

Gilbert Tuoni is an independent motion picture producer living in San Francisco. (Volume XIII, pp. 3662-3674.) Though he had made application he was not yet a citizen. He enjoys a wide acquaintance in the Italian colony and stated that he had observed "plenty" of pro-Fascist activities in San Francisco. He recommended that all Italian radio programs be taken off the air and that the printing of propaganda papers, such as the *L'Italia* and *La Voce del Popolo*, be stopped.

He had been accused by the pro-Fascists in San Francisco of being a traitor to Italy and of being in the pay of the British Government. Because of his anti-Fascist attitude and the work he had done against the pro-Fascists, he had been threatened on several occasions. Certain individuals connected with Ettore Patrizi had called on him and attempted to shame him for his anti-Fascist attitude.

In 1932 he published a book entitled *Italian Activities in America*. He had worked with labor groups in California and had observed the "Columbus Avenue group" exploit labor. When in Castroville, engaged in filming a motion picture for the artichoke industry, he was ordered out of the area by a Mr. Nolinari, whom, he "presumed," was now in a "concentration camp."

He was familiar with the Italian language schools in the City of San Francisco and stated that he had examined many of the textbooks. It was his unqualified opinion that the textbooks were compiled for the single purpose of spreading Fascist propaganda among American-born Italian children. He unequivocally branded the *Ex-Combattenti* a

Fascist organization, though he believed that many innocent men had been induced to join it.

He was in the City of San Francisco when *Fascio Umberto Nobile* was founded and stated that its founder, now deceased, was at the time of organizing the society an editor on one of Patrizi's newspapers.

He emphatically branded Patrizi's newspapers as *pro-Fascist* and as organs of "racketeering." "They are poison!" he declared. He stated that Ettore Patrizi had six men in California who were engaged in "strong arm" work for the Italian Fascist group. He named these men as Virgilio, Nolanari, both of San Francisco; Luigi Colombo of Los Angeles; Bravi of Portland and Salt Lake City; Brignole in northern California and Fransconci in the Santa Clara area. Tuoni stated that these men acted as collectors for Patrizi's newspapers. He stated that Fransconci is now in a "concentration camp." Nolanari, he added, was also interned.

He had known Renzo Turco for many years and stated that Turco was a "believer" in Fascism. He was also acquainted with Sylvester Andriano but knew little of his activities.

He declared that only the pro-Fascists in California had received decorations from the Italian Government and that all of these decorations indicated service to the Fascist regime. He stated that the King of Italy would never give a decoration to anyone unless Mussolini sanctioned it. Since 1934, "every other butcher in California has received a decoration from the Fascist King of Italy," Tuoni declared.

George T. Baker, an official of the *Citizens No-Foreign Wars Coalition*, testified December 5, 1941 (Volume VII, pp. 1980-2007) that he had attended a German Day celebration in California Hall in San Francisco. At this meeting, Baker testified, he saw Mayor Rossi, in company of Von Killinger, the Consul General for Germany, give the Nazi salute.

Sylvester Andriano testified on two separate occasions. (Volume VI, pp. 1905-1928, Volume XII, pp. 3396-3450.) He was born in Italy in 1889 and became an American citizen in February of 1914. He came to the United States in 1901. In 1928 he was appointed a county supervisor by Mayor James Rolph of San Francisco. In 1934 he became a director of the *Bank of America*. In 1938 he was appointed police commissioner for San Francisco by Mayor Angelo J. Rossi and served in this capacity for two years. At the time of testifying he was serving as Chairman of Draft Board 100 in the City of San Francisco.

When he testified December 4, 1941 (Volume VI, pp. 1905-1928) he stated that he was engaged in the private practice of law. He had been the attorney for the Italian Consul in San Francisco from 1917 until the consulate was closed by the United States Government on July 15, 1941.

He claimed he knew nothing of Italy's participation with the Hitler regime in Germany. He stated that he was "not competent to judge" the Garibaldi tradition in Italy, but was of the opinion that Garibaldi did not do "heroic work." "He was a fine patriot," he added, "but he did a lot of harm, too."

Andriano visited Italy in 1938 and was away from the United States for about 90 days. He claimed that he did not see Mussolini and

denied having been made a Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy. He claims that he holds the decoration known as "Commandatore," which, he explained, is *Commander of the Crown of Italy*. He testified that this is a decoration higher than Chevalier and Knight Officer. He recalled talking to some one in the office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome but stated that it was "solely in connection with the participation of Italy in the San Francisco Exposition."

He claimed that he had not read the article concerning himself in the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* magazine or the article written by Ettore Patrizi and published in *L'Italia* quoting him (Andriano) as praising the "Fascist Regime" in Italy. He denied having used the words attributed to him, and Patrizi, who was sitting in the audience while Andriano was testifying, arose to take full blame for improperly quoting Mr. Andriano.

He denied ever having used the terms "Il Duce" when speaking of Mussolini. (Volume XII, pp. 3396-3450.)

He claimed he had never heard of a "Fascio" organization in San Francisco. He admitted being President of the *Fugazi Building Association* in 1928 or 1929 and stated that it was a "white elephant." He denied that anyone had ever offered to pay the rent on the building.

He admitted that he met with Vittori Mussolini, the son of Benito Mussolini, when the latter visited San Francisco. He stated that he called on him with the Italian Consul, Rinaldi, in 1937 or 1938. Vittori Mussolini had come to San Francisco in reference to Italian participation in the San Francisco Exposition.

He stated that he had been very enthusiastic over "Christian Rome" when he visited there the last time.

He could not recall Senate Bill 540 introduced in the 1937 Session of the Legislature for the regulation of foreign language schools in California.

He stated that Superior Judge McKeage had recommended him for his appointment to Draft Board 100 in the City of San Francisco.

He claimed that he sold Liberty Bonds and worked for the Red Cross during the last World War. At that time he was the Secretary of Draft Board Number 13 in San Francisco. When asked what he intended doing with his decorations from the Italian Government, Andriano stated that he would await suggestions from prominent authorities in Washington. (Volume XII, pp. 3396-3450.)

Joseph Civinini was called to testify concerning the minutes of a meeting in Fugazi Hall, written in Italian and signed by him, which Andriano had partially denied. (Volume XIII, pp. 3674-3677.) Civinini stated that he was presently the Secretary of the *Italian Benevolent Society* in San Francisco. He definitely recalled the meeting in question at *Fugazi Hall* and identified the photostatic copy of the minutes in the possession of the committee. He translated the paragraph dealing with the funds offered by the Italian Consul to *Fugazi Hall*, *Fascio*, *Dante Aligheri* and *Ex-Combattenti*. He stated that the meeting had been called to order by Sylvester Andriano and that Consul Meelini Ponce de Leon, Mr. Zulberti, Mr. Laiolo, Mr. Oberti, Mr. Peachiera, Mr. Farina, Mr. Patrizi, Mr. Pedrini, Mr. Olivieri, Mr. Baccigalupi, Mr. Zanolini, and Civinini, himself, were in attendance. He stated that the photostatic copy of the minutes, in the possession of the committee,

was a true and correct report of the minutes prepared by him and accurately recorded what actually had occurred at the meeting.

Paul Bibily, formerly of the French Consulate, first in New York and then in San Francisco from January 11, 1937, to July 22, 1940, designated himself as the Vice Consul for the *Free French*. (Volume XIII, pp. 3531-3540.) He had been dismissed by Petain but insisted that he still represented the *Free French*.

He declared that there was much Fascist activity in San Francisco and that considerable information was on file on the subject in the French (Vichy) Consulate in San Francisco. He stated that he had known Renzo Turco for five years and stated that "even the lampposts know he is a Fascist." He had known Angelo J. Rossi, Mayor of the City of San Francisco, for about five years and stated that he was "rather fond of him." Turco had confided to him that it would be a good thing for the United States and France to establish a Fascist system of government. He knew of the *Ex-Combattenti Society* and branded it as pro-Fascist. He had examined the textbooks of the Italian language schools and stated that the grammar and arithmetic were "cleverly pro-Fascist."

He had met Ettore Patrizi on several occasions and had read his papers, but stated "I will not make any daily fare of "*feuille d'Clouy*" —the cabbage leaf. He stated without equivocation that Patrizi's newspapers were pro-Fascist, adding, "maybe not so much since December 7th \* \* \* the courage is not very thick on the Fascists."

Rudolph Altrocchi is Professor of Italian Literature at the University of California in Berkeley. (Volume V, pp. 1501-1509.) He had been at the university for a period of 13 years in the Department of Italian Language.

He explained that Fascism is a form of government where the people are the servants of the government. He stated that there is no suffrage in Italy and that racial persecution is part of its philosophy. Whatever the advantages Mussolini may have brought to Italy, Altrocchi declared the benefits were inferior and superficial and that Mussolini has, in fact, killed the soul of the Italian people. He stated that the Italians hate the Germans and find the Axis partnership very onerous.

He admitted knowing Ettore Patrizi, the publisher of *L'Italia* and *La Voce del Popolo* for a considerable length of time. He stated that they were both members of an Italian club, *Crenacolo* for a time.

He stated that the *Ex-Combattenti Society* was an organization of Italian war veterans who met generally in *Fugazi Hall* in North Beach in San Francisco. He stated that this group formerly celebrated Armistice Day on November 11th, but that they had stopped this celebration "several years ago."

He declared that one of the principles of Italian Fascism is not to recognize the citizenship of Italians in other countries. The theory of Italian Fascism is "*Once an Italian, Always an Italian.*" He stated that many Italians become naturalized in the United States as a matter of expediency and that the Italian Government tells them that they are not merely Italians but *Fascists* and instructs them to disseminate Fascist propaganda.

He stated that most of the propagandizing of Fascism in San Francisco was done by the Italian language newspapers, through the *Italian Consul* and the *Italian Chamber of Commerce*.

### Nazi and Fascist Activities

Harry R. Bridges, President of the *International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union*, was a volunteer witness before the committee. (Volume XIII, pp. 3594-3618.) He gave his business address as 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, and stated that in addition to being President of the *ILWU* that he was the State Director of the *Congress for Industrial Organization* since August of 1937. He related incidents of the unloading of German ships in San Francisco harbor by members of the Longshoremen's Union and stated that the men had noted German officers leaving German ships in uniform. He stated that they had observed Storm Troopers in full regalia on the German ships and had seen them leaving to visit ashore. He had assigned longshoremen to trail the Storm Troopers and they followed them to the German House in San Francisco. He stated that they visited there regularly and contacted various persons in the building. He stated that full notes had been made of these visits which were in his possession and that the material was available to the committee. These activities, he stated, dated from 1935 or 1936 until the German ships stopped coming to San Francisco, shortly after the declaration of war with England.

He told the committee of a meeting held in the German House in San Francisco. He stated that the *Maritime Federation* investigated this meeting and found that Von Killinger, German Consul, spoke, and that the meeting was being held in celebration of the conquering of Czechoslovakia. He stated that 800 to 1,000 people gathered to protest the meeting and particularly protested the presence of Mayor Rossi. The labor unions, according to Bridges, followed this protest through. He declared that the *Maritime Federation* passed resolutions at the time supporting the picket lines around the California Hall where the meeting was held. He declared that the resolution stated that the picket line had been "brutally attacked" by police; that the hobnobbing of Mayor Rossi with Nazi stool pigeons was condemned and demanded that the mayor repudiate them. A copy of the resolution was sent in a letter to the mayor, under date of October 6, 1938, and same was read into the record. The *Maritime Federation*, according to Bridges, sent a delegation, consisting of Henry Schmidt, Walter J. Stack, Clarence Paton and others, to the board of supervisors demanding the floor at the meeting to protest McSheehy sitting with Von Killinger on the platform. It was Bridges' opinion that the request was ignored.

Archie Brown, a member of the *International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union*, Local 110, testified December 3, 1941. (Volume VI, pp. 1730-1758.) He admitted that he was a member of the Communist Party. He stated that he had been a candidate for supervisor in the 1940 elections and had attended a meeting of the *Forum of American Federation of Labor*, Culinary Union, in October of 1941 when Supervisor Adolph Uhl spoke. He stated that he had referred to

the German Day celebration in California Hall in 1938 at which Uhl and four other supervisors attended. He stated that Adolph Uhl had declared that Mayor Angelo Rossi had given the Nazi salute and "Heiled Hitler."

Renzo Turco gave the same business address as given by Sylvester Andriano. (Volume XII, pp. 3378-3396.) He stated that he was born in Italy and became a naturalized citizen of the United States in 1928. He graduated from the University of Genoa in 1920 and came to the United States in 1922, graduating from the University of California in 1925. He was admitted to the practice of law in California in June, 1926. He stated that he had practiced in San Francisco since his admission to the Bar.

He denied ever belonging to the Fascist Party or wearing a button of the *Fascio*. He stated that he knew very little concerning *Fascio Umberto Nobile* in the City of San Francisco and added that it was "wound up" in 1928. He stated that "it was very fashionable to belong" as Fascism was in favor the world over. He said that the symbol of the Fascist Party was Roman and that he believed that one of the tenets of the Fascist regime was "to revive the old Roman glory." He admitted attending meetings in *Fugazi Hall*, but could not recall if any of these meetings were connected with the *Fascio Umberto Nobile Society*. He doubted the statement in the minutes of one of these meetings, in possession of the Committee, which reported that he was present.

He admitted having been secretary of the *Ex-Combattenti Society* and stated that he took office in 1927 and discontinued in 1930. He remained a member. He commented that the organization died "for lack of oxygen" around December 7, 1941. He claimed that the *Ex-Combattenti* kept no record of attendance of members at the meetings. The meetings formerly were held at 510 or 511 Columbus Avenue and later moved to *Fugazi Hall*. He could not remember to whom he surrendered the records in 1930 when he went out of office as secretary.

He made a trip to Europe in 1930 "as a bachelor."

He was acquainted with Major Renzetti when he was the Italian Consul in San Francisco. He admitted having visited him "socially" in 1937 in Berlin. On that trip, Turco stated, he toured around Europe and visited Italy twice. He claimed that he paid his own expenses. He stated that he knew Mrs. Renzetti was friendly with the officials of the German Government and had autographed pictures of them. He recalled Goebbels as one of them. He did not know if Mrs. Renzetti was related to any of these officials. Major Renzetti did not return to San Francisco after going to Europe.

He admitted having accepted an invitation to speak at the *German-American Bund* meetings in California Hall in the City of San Francisco. He admitted having met Herman Max Schwinn but stated that he did not know his name until he saw his picture after December 7, 1941, in the newspapers.

He was acquainted with Mario Parisi and was aware that he exhibited foreign films in Italian and German.

He denied that he had visited Fascist Party or Italian Government officials while in Rome.

He was acquainted with the German Consul General in San Francisco, Fritz Weidemann, but claimed that he was only acquainted with him "socially."

He admitted having spoken at *America First Committee* meetings, but denied ever having belonged to the organization. He denied having made slurring remarks concerning Jewish merchants in relation to Red Cross knitting; he said he had merely criticized the appearance of the Red Cross headquarters at North Beach, likening it to a "Jewish junk shop."

He related the details of an attack on him and Gaston Usigli, a musician, about 10 years before and said that some men had beaten them up, alleging that they were wearing Fascist buttons. Two of the men were captured and held for trial. The matter of the wearing of the Fascist buttons was not brought up at the trial, he asserted.

He admitted having become Secretary of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* in San Francisco in 1939 and that he had continued in this position until 1940 when he turned the affairs of the secretary over to Dr. Facci.

While the committee was sitting in San Francisco, taking testimony on Fascist activities in the Bay Area, Harry R. Bridges addressed a letter to the committee under date of May 25, 1942. (Volume XIII, pp. 3581-3582.) Bridges signed the letter as the President of the *International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union*. He stated that in the Fall of 1935 the garbage collectors of San Francisco had collected large quantities of scrap metal for shipment to Mussolini for use in Fascist Italy's Abyssinian campaign. He stated that the garbage collectors of San Francisco had collected this metal free of charge. He stated that the longshoremen refused to load it on the Italian ships for a period of two months. The Italian Consul visited Bridges and told him that Mayor Angelo Rossi had ordered the longshoremen to load the scrap metal and stated that if the longshoremen refused to do so that the police would be ordered to break the resistance. Bridges volunteered to appear before the committee and did so May 26 and 27, 1942. (Volume XIII, pp. 3594-3618.)

He stated that the Scavengers' Association of San Francisco had collected two or three hundred tons of scrap metal, consisting mostly of copper and brass and the longshoremen had refused to load it on the Italian ships in San Francisco harbor. He stated that it had been the policy of his union not to assist Fascist nations. The scrap metal lay on the wharf in San Francisco for two months during which time he made a check of the background of the collection by the Scavengers' Association. He stated that it had been collected in the name of the Italian Red Cross. The Italian Consul had informed him that Mayor Rossi had helped in the drive to secure the metal. Mayor Rossi later phoned Bridges and told him that the metal had been collected as a "humanitarian gesture" and that a "bunch of Communists on the waterfront" were attempting to insinuate that the collection had not been made in good faith. Bridges declared that he told the mayor that his men would not load the metal and the mayor informed him that he would find men who would load it and give them police protection. The members of the Longshoremen's Union then protested to the Italian Consul and argued with him as to the good "scrap metal" would do

the Italian Red Cross. Later Judge Marcus C. Sloss, labor arbitrator, ruled that the union must load the scrap metal on the Italian ships and gave the men an hour to do so. The material was then loaded.

Bridges identified the publication, *Voice of the Federation*, for July 12, 1939, and stated that he was one of the founders of this paper and that it was first published in June of 1935 and ceased some time in 1941. He stated that the back copies of the publication contained information corroborating his statements as given above. The issue of October 10, 1935 published a resolution passed by the longshoremen addressed to the *Maritime Federation* prohibiting the Maritime Federation members from helping Italy in any way. They were instructed not to handle ammunition or war equipment material destined for Italy. Bridges called the committee's attention to another resolution passed by the *Firemen's Union* in which the Standard Oil Company of California and other American capitalist firms were branded as collaborators of Italian aggression in Ethiopia by shipping oil to Italy. He stated that the firemen refused to sail on ships chartered for Italy, Eritrea or Italian Somililand. The issue of October 24, 1935, reported the longshoremen's refusal to load the Italian motor ship *Cellini* and declared the material to be loaded as contraband under a current ruling by President Roosevelt placing an embargo on all arms, munitions and war materials to Italy during the Ethiopian war. The issue of October 31, 1935, reported the picketing of the Italian Consulate. The article related the interference of the police in this picketing and referred to a newspaper story branding the picketers as "a bunch of Communists."

He stated that the *Scavengers' Association* demanded high rates for the collection of tin for the United States in its present war effort, in comparison to the attitude of the *Scavengers' Association* in collecting scrap metal for Italy free of charge to assist in the war of aggression in Ethiopia.

Sylvester Andriano admitted being an attorney for the *Scavengers' Association*, known as the *Sanitary Fill Company*. (Volume VI, pp. 1905-1928.)

He stated that he represented the *Scavengers' Association* on some matters, and that he is an attorney for the *Sanitary Fill Company* which holds city and county franchises in San Francisco. He denied that the *Scavengers' Association* had collected gold for Italy during Mussolini's Ethiopian campaign.

Mrs. Carola Bruschera denied that she had taken any part in collecting gold for Italy's Abyssinian War. (Volume XIII, pp. 3499-3503.) She stated that she "just wrote the address when they sent the money in." She stated that this had been done in the office of the *Ex-Combattenti* in *Fugazi Hall*. She said it was a social affair put on by the ladies and that the money was collected to "help the poor."

Mayor Angelo Rossi was called before the committee for two reasons. In the first place, he had been charged by a number of witnesses as participating in Nazi and Fascist activities in the City of San Francisco. These accusations had been made in public and it was felt that the mayor should be given an opportunity to answer such charges. In the second place, Angelo Rossi is an American of Italian descent and titular head of a great California municipality containing a large

Italian population. It was well established that he was an old friend of both Sylvester Andriano and Ettore Patrizi. The testimony of witnesses in November and December of 1941 and at the May, 1942, hearing in San Francisco, had indicated considerable Fascist activities in the Bay Area. The evidence before the committee was overwhelming as to Fascist propaganda and indoctrination in the Italian colony in San Francisco. The committee members were convinced that the three ring leaders of the Fascist movement were Sylvester Andriano, Ettore Patrizi and Renzo Turco. The entire hearing was geared to pivot about these individuals and their activities.

The main purpose in examining Angelo Rossi under oath was to determine what he had done to remedy the Fascist situation, widely publicized as a result of the committee's hearing; to learn whether or not the mayor was cognizant of the facts concerning the matters described to the committee by witnesses at that hearing. The committee itself, or its representatives, had at no time remotely suggested that the mayor had been engaged in subversive activities in his official position. The committee, therefore, was surprised when the mayor, before a question could be propounded to him, dramatically read into the committee's records a statement setting forth his personal history and proclaiming his patriotism, which no one connected with the committee, up to that point, had disputed.

He proclaimed his 100 per cent loyalty to the United States of America. (Volume XIII, pp. 3452-3471.) He stated that he had served as a member of the Recreation Commission for seven years and had been a member of the San Francisco County Board of Supervisors and the foreman of the Grand Jury. He stated that he had been elected Mayor of the City of San Francisco and had served in that capacity for 12 years. He denounced the testimony of the witnesses and accused the committee of holding "star chamber" sessions. He declared that he had cooperated with Federal authorities 100 per cent and that he believed the investigation of the committee was a "smear campaign" against him.

He admitted having been acquainted with Sylvester Andriano for many years. He also admitted knowing Ettore Patrizi. He stated that he had no knowledge whatsoever of the activities of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* and that he knew vaguely of the *Ex-Combattenti Society*. He had heard nothing of the *Fascio Umberto Nobile Society*; knew something of the Italian language schools but admitted that he had never made any inquiry regarding their activities.

He admitted that he had an autographed picture of Mussolini in his office and stated that it had been presented to him in 1933 when Senator Marconi had visited San Francisco. He stated that the San Francisco Board of Supervisors had entertained the senator and had made him an honorary citizen. He added that he had photographs of many prominent people from all over the world but that he had removed the photographs of the Japanese and the Germans.

Mayor Rossi disclaimed any connections with Fascism and denied that he had received the Fascist Grand Cross, as had been stated in the publication of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce, La Ressegna*. He admitted having received a decoration from the King of Italy on January 24, 1938. He stated that he had never attended any func-

tions he knew to be either Fascist or Nazi in character and denied having ever given the Fascist salute. He stated that he had denounced Axis activities, but could not recall having denounced Mussolini in particular. He described his other Italian decorations and stated that one was received in 1931 on the recommendation of Tito Schipa and the other from Senator Marconi. He stated that he had never read Zito's paper, *Il Corriere*, or the *People's Daily World*. He denied ever having seen Sylvester Andriano give the Fascist salute.

## 4

## ITALIAN ORGANIZATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

A. M. Cogliandro narrowly escaped with his life several months before testifying, December 4, 1941, and for his personal safety the committee designated him in the press as "X-2." (Executive Session, December 1, 3 and 4, 1941.) Shot from ambush, the assassin's bullet passed through Cogliandro's coat without injuring him. Since this unsuccessful attempt on his life he had been threatened on a number of occasions.

He stated that the Italian Consul General in San Francisco used the office for the dissemination of Fascist propaganda and that all visitors coming to the office were given booklets, leaflets, photographs, etc., which were decidedly Fascistic propaganda. He stated that the same type of propaganda was distributed by the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* in the City of San Francisco. All of the material issued by the Italian Consul General's office in San Francisco was printed in Italy under the supervision of the Minister of Propaganda. Cogliandro stated that before an Italian-American might secure permission to visit Italy, he had to prove to the Consul that he was, in fact, a Fascist. This situation had existed for 10 years. In addition to these activities, Cogliandro declared that the Italian Consul maintained a number of Fascist spies in the San Francisco Bay area.

The pro-Fascist Italian language newspapers in California were named as *L'Italia* and *La Voce del Popolo*, published by Ettore Patrizi. Cogliandro stated that the two newspapers were owned by different corporations and he believed that both were subsidized by the Italian government until late in 1940.

The *Italian Chamber of Commerce* of San Francisco published a magazine by the name of *La Rassegna Commerciale* which was registered in the United States Department of State as foreign government propaganda. Cogliandro stated that the Secretary of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce*, Branchi, was registered with the United States Government as a foreign agent of Italy. The current secretary of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* was named Ilacqua.

Cogliandro was acquainted with the *Ex-Combattenti*, an organization which was composed of men who fought for Italy in the World War. He stated that this group was decidedly pro-Fascist. He said that they formerly met in *Garibaldi Hall* in the City of San Francisco but that at the time of testifying they were meeting in *Fugazi Hall* located at 678 Green Street, San Francisco. He stated that *Fugazi Hall* was donated to the Italian community for colony uses, but that it had come into the possession of the Italian Government and had been used, up

to the time of testifying, exclusively for Fascist work and was managed by the Italian Consul in San Francisco. The property had been donated by an Italian by the name of Fugazi who had also given a library for the use of the Italian colony. Cogliandro stated that the Fascists in charge of the building had destroyed the books and substituted others which had been sent from Rome by the Minister of Propaganda through the Italian Consul. He stated that the Fascist organizations in the Bay Area maintain headquarters at Fugazi Hall and disseminate Fascist literature from there. The *Italian Legion*, the *After Work Club* and *After School Club* used *Fugazi Hall* for their activities. He stated that the *After School Club*, an organization composed of students, used the Hall for Fascist drills.

Some time in 1937 the Italian Government sent four teachers or instructors from Rome to teach in San Francisco's Italian language schools. Cogliandro declared that they openly taught obedience to Mussolini and Victor Emanuel, the King of Italy, and trained the children in principles of Fascism.

He identified a medal which, he stated, was one of the highest decorations conferred by the Italian Army and stated that he had received it for service with the Italian Army in the war against Abyssinia in 1896. He also identified a medal given by the Italian Government to Fascists in foreign countries for "good propaganda work."

He stated that the *Union Sports Club* was another organization completely controlled by the Fascists. It also had its headquarters in *Fugazi Hall* until some time in 1940 when the Italian Consul left San Francisco. He related his difficulties in attempting to pass legislation in the California Legislature designed to bring all foreign language schools under the direct supervision of the State Board of Education. He stated that Sylvester Andriano appeared before the State Board of Education and protested the proposed legislation. Cogliandro was finally successful in inducing State Senator Metzger to introduce his bill in the California Senate. It was known as Senate Bill 540 in the 1937 Session. He stated that through Andriano's activities the bill was killed. He stated that Andriano conducted an energetic campaign against the measure and wrote against it in the Italian language newspaper, *L'Italia*.

Referring to Ettore Patrizi, the publisher of *L'Italia* and *La Voce del Popolo*, Cogliandro declared that United States Senator Borah had accused Patrizi of being a man living "under two flags." He stated that Borah had made a speech in the Senate against the Fascists and that he spoke in the name of 250 Italian-Americans in California. He personally wrote Borah a letter of congratulation and offered the committee a copy of the letter.

He stated that there were 47 Italian language schools in California, with nine of them located in the City of San Francisco. He examined the textbooks of these schools in the possession of the committee and declared unequivocally that they were "Fascistic." He stated that Sylvester Andriano was the President of the Italian School Board. Andriano had been decorated by the Italian Government as a Chevalier (Knight) and also as Commandatore (Commander) in 1935 and 1936 and had received a third decoration in 1938. He stated that the Italian language schools in the United States are partially supported

by the Italian Government. He told of the school children wearing the uniforms of *Ballila*, a youth Fascist organization. He explained that *Ballila* was a character in Italian history. He identified the uniformed groups in photographs in possession of the committee.

He stated that the members of *Ex-Combattenti* used black shirts but did not wear a full uniform. He stated that when Marconi visited San Francisco in either 1937 or 1938, a banquet was held at the Fairmont Hotel and that the members of *Ex-Combattenti* shouted "Viva Il Duce" and gave the Fascist salute. The witness ventured the opinion that Marconi was told what to say in the United States by the Minister of Propaganda in Italy. He stated that he refused to shake hands with Marconi, the inventor, because he had become Marconi, the Fascist.

He was familiar with the organization known as the *Sons of Italy* and believed that some of its members and officers were pro-Fascist.

He ventured the opinion that the Italian people had never liked the Germans and that they were much more sympathetic to the Allies. He stated that his father was called a "conspirator" during the war for Italian Independence (1866-1870) because he had worked with Mazzini and Garibaldi, "the liberators." He stated that Mussolini had destroyed all this (Socialist) work.

He listed the Italian language publications that he contended were Fascistic. He stated that the only Italian language newspaper in San Francisco that is anti-Fascist is *Il Corriere del Popolo*, published by Carmelo Zito.

He stated that there had been a number of Fascist radio programs in the Bay Area, notably on Radio Stations KROW, KLS and KRE. He stated that Italian propaganda films had been exhibited from time to time at the *Marina Theatre* and at the *Princess Theatre*, operated by Mario Parisi. At the time of testifying, Cogliandro stated that Parisi was exhibiting German films.

Cogliandro contended that Fascist and American principles are incompatible. He claimed that he had been fighting the Fascist movement in America since 1923.

He indicated that Sylvester Andriano carried on Fascist propaganda and organizational work after the United States Government had closed the Italian Consuls. He believed that Ettore Patrizi headed the Fascist organizational work in the United States.

He stated that he had belonged to the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* in pre-Fascist days and that nine years before, he was Grand Secretary of the *Italian Federation*.

### Cenaloco

Rino G. Lanzoni (an alien), an importer of Venetian glass and antiques, was the secretary of *Cenaloco*, a social and cultural organization, according to his testimony. (Volume XIII, pp. 3558-3561.) He stated that *Cenaloco* was organized in 1929 and that he had been secretary of it until about 1937. It was still in existence. He stated that the name was taken from the Renaissance and that it still had between 40 and 50 members. He claimed that there were no political aspects to the organization.

He was aware that Dr. Branchi had gone to South America. He had met Renzo Cezana on several occasions but stated that he was not a member of *Cenaloco*. He believed that a Mr. Corao was the secretary of the organization until he enlisted in the armed forces of the United States.

Lanzoni claimed that he knew nothing about the Italian language schools in San Francisco. He stated that Musto Guido, President of *Cenaloco*, was decorated by the Italian Government and that Dr. Giordano and Mr. Andriano had also received decorations from Mussolini's Government. He stated that Mayor Angelo Rossi was an honorary member of *Cenaloco*. A Mr. Calairi was the custodian of the membership lists of the organization.

He concluded his testimony by stating that he had no knowledge whatsoever of Fascist activities among the Italian-Americans in San Francisco.

### Ex-Combattenti Society

Dr. Modesto Giordano is a physician and surgeon enjoying a large practice among the Italian-Americans in San Francisco. (Volume XIII, pp. 3524-3531.) He stated that he came to San Francisco in 1930 and became an American citizen in 1939. His practice was confined almost solely to the Italian colony although he included French, Spanish and Central American patients in his clientele.

In 1937 he was called by the Italian Consul, Rinaldi, and requested to become the President of the *Ex-Combattenti Society*. He was a member of the organization but had not taken an active part in its affairs. He acquiesced with the request of the Consul and became president of the group. He was convinced, he said, that the *Ex-Combattenti Society* was not a political organization and based his statement on its "By-laws." There had been some friction in the organization instigated by two or three members who called themselves Fascists. One of these members was named Montani; the others, Dr. Giordano was unable to identify. He stated that none of them held office in the society.

The *Ex-Combattenti Society* was a federated, Nation-wide organization with headquarters for the United States in New York. Under examination he admitted that the Italian Consuls took a very active part in the organization. The international headquarters of the group is located in Paris, France. The organization was disbanded when war was declared December 8, 1941. He had received a decoration from the Italian Government—the decoration of Cavaliere. He stated that this decoration was presented to him in 1939 or thereabouts for professional services to the Italian colony in San Francisco and the Italian Consul, Rinaldi, had awarded it to him.

He remembered attending a meeting of the board of directors of the Italian language school in either 1937 or 1938. He claimed that he had not examined the textbooks.

He concluded his testimony by stating that he had no information whatever on alleged Fascist activities in the City of San Francisco.

Sylvester Andriano described the *Ex-Combattenti* as a "sort of *American Legion*" for Italian ex-service men. (Volume VI, pp. 1905-1928.) He denied that it was a pro-Fascist organization. He said that

the club-rooms of the society were ornamented with pictures of Washington and Lincoln as well as Mussolini. He stated that he did not know of Fascist agents in *Ex-Combattenti*. He stated that organizations other than the *Ex-Combattenti* held their meetings at *Fugazi Hall* and stated that one C. I. O. union and the *Societa Opraia*, a fraternal organization, meets there once a month. He could not recall that the members of *Ex-Combattenti* ever wore black shirts. He emphatically denied ever having accepted money from the Italian Consul for the *Dante Alighieri Society*, *Ex-Combattenti* or *Fugazi Hall*, despite the documentary evidence contained in the minutes of the meeting in *Fugazi Hall* October 22, 1929, and verified by its secretary, Joseph Civinini.

He stated that the *Ex-Combattenti* paid \$35 a month rent for *Fugazi Hall* but did not know where they raised the money.

Ettore Patrizi stated that "Ex-Combattenti" actually indicated the "Italian Legion." He claimed that the members of this organization never wore black shirts and that the only semblance of a uniform was a cap.

### Sons of Italy

Rose M. Fanucchi is a San Francisco attorney, born and reared in San Francisco. (Volume XIII, pp. 3540-3555.) She was admitted to the State Bar of California on November 19, 1932. She stated that she was a member of *Dante Alighieri Lodge* of the *Sons of Italy* and that she had been appointed the English editor of its publication, *Il Leone*. She stated that the editor of this publication was Anthony Fiore. She received no compensation for her work. She stated that the *Sons of Italy* is a fraternal benefit organization. The editor who preceded Fiore on the paper was Angelo Bacoccina, a teacher in the Italian language school and now in an internment camp in San Antonio, Texas. She stated that he had been apprehended December 8, 1941; that he was an alien and a member of *Dante Alighieri Lodge*. She stated that she had known him since 1937.

Miss Fanucchi was still a member of the *Sons of Italy*. She claimed that she had never observed any effort to propagandize the organization with Fascist doctrines. She claimed that *Il Leone* is not tinged in any way with pro-Fascist flavor from her point of view. Bacoccina, as editor and herself as English editor, were not engaged in the capacity of writers. They merely edited the material that went into *Il Leone*. Being shown a quotation from the paper quoting Benito Mussolini, she claimed that the article had appeared before she joined the paper's staff.

Vincent Melella was the secretary of the Grand Council of the *Sons of Italy* and the editor of *Il Leone*. (Volume XIII, pp. 3577-3583.) He stated that he had previously been the Financial Secretary of the Grand Council. He admitted having made donations to support the Italian language schools over a period of years. These donations were on behalf of the *Sons of Italy*. In 1940-1941 the donation to the school had amounted to \$1,340.65 and for the preceding period, \$2,509.70. He claimed that he had seen but one textbook used in the schools and had merely "glanced over it."

He denied ever having been connected with the *Fascio Umberto Nobile Society* or any other Fascist organization. He stated that the

Grand Lodge of the *Sons of Italy* held a convention in Santa Barbara in 1935 and claimed that the policy of supporting the Italian language schools was established in this convention. The members were assessed 35 cents each, two-thirds of which was used for educational purposes and one-third for benevolent work. He believed it possible that the *Sons of Italy* in California had contributed the funds toward sending children on visits to Italy. He stated that the organization in Illinois had entertained the children and paid part of the expenses in 1936 or 1937. He admitted that it was "possible" that the money for sending the children to Italy had been taken from the benevolent fund.

Anthony S. Fiore was the State president of the *Sons of Italy* when he testified May 26, 1942. (Volume XIII, pp. 3561-3577, 3647-3655.) He had held this office since 1939 and had been a member of the organization since 1931.

He had lived in San Francisco since 1922 and had received a law degree from the University of California and had been admitted to the practice of law in 1929.

He stated that the *Sons of Italy* is a corporation, chartered under New Jersey law with the headquarters of the Grand Lodge of California located at 805 Washington Street, San Francisco. He stated it is composed of 54 lodges in California and that it has a membership of six to seven thousand. The official publication of the *Sons of Italy* is *Il Leone*.

Being shown articles quoting Mussolini in *Il Leone*, Fiore stated that this policy of quoting Fascist leaders had occurred before he took office as president and claimed that the practice had been abandoned during his regime.

He succeeded Edward Dinucci as president. Dinucci is an alien and Fiore stated that he believes that he was in the custody of the United States. He admitted that Dinucci's policies had been "too pro-Fascist" and that he was defeated for election at the organization's convention.

He declared that the *Sons of Italy* were 100 per cent American in principles and ideals. He believed that the Fascists had made attempts to indoctrinate the organization, with their principles.

The *Sons of Italy* was first organized in 1905 in New York and during the early part of its history had had considerable trouble from an attempted Communistic penetration. Fiore stated that the organization was successful in routing the Communist invasion.

A man by the name of Caforio had succeeded to the presidency of the *Sons of Italy* before Dinucci was elected president. Fiore stated that Angelo Bacoccini had been the president of the *Dante Aligheri Lodge* of the *Sons of Italy* in San Francisco and had been the editor of the Italian section of *Il Leone*. He stated that Bacoccini was now interned by the United States Government. He was acquainted with Mr. Gharadi, who had been the managing editor of *Il Leone*. He stated, rather dejectedly, that Gharadi was also interned. He believed that Gharadi had also held a minor office in the organization.

He was acquainted with Renzo Turco and said that he was serving as the president of one of the lodges of the *Sons of Italy* in the City of San Francisco. He believed that Turco had something to do with the press and propaganda committee of that organization.

Fiore was acquainted with Mr. Bartoletti who once occupied the position of Managing Editor of Italian section of *Il Leone* and was also a lodge president. Fiore admitted that Bartoletti was also in custody.

*Il Leone* was being printed at the time Fiore testified by the *L'Italia* press and he claimed that he supervised the issues of the magazine in his office. His executive secretary, Vincent Melella, prepared the material.

Fiore was acquainted with Fabrisio Mantini who was once State president of the *Sons of Italy*. Upon being asked the present whereabouts of Mantini Fiore, more dejectedly, admitted that he also was in custody. Under further examination, Fiore sadly admitted that the activities of Federal agencies were decimating the ranks of the organization. He emphatically denied that the *Sons of Italy* indulged in political activities officially. He stated that the members must be either American citizens or have indicated their intention of becoming citizens.

He "believed" that the organization sponsored "a collection" for Italy during the Ethiopian War, but added, "that was before my time." He explained that this collection was made for the purpose of aiding the suffering in Italy and was not for the purpose of buying guns or tanks. He stated that the funds were sent to the Italian Red Cross. He said that the supreme lodge assisted in both the American and Italian Red Cross drives in 1940 and that \$500 had been collected for the Italian Red Cross, but that the United States Department of State had forbidden the *Sons of Italy* to send the money. Permission had been given to the *Ex-Combattenti Society* to collect for the Italian Red Cross and consequently \$250 of the money was given to the American Red Cross and \$250 to *Ex-Combattenti*. He stated that he was not a member of the *Ex-Combattenti Society* and had no knowledge of the affairs of the organization.

In the National Convention of August, 1941, the *Sons of Italy* had gone on record as being anti-Fascist, anti-Nazi, anti-Communist and anti-Shintoist and had pledged full loyalty to the President of the United States.

Fiore made an eloquent plea for the cause of the *Sons of Italy* as an American institution with 300,000 members in the United States. He cited the records of illustrious members and defended the organization by stating that pro-Fascist elements had "attempted to use" it but had, in fact, failed in this objective. He introduced the official publication of the order to show its pro-American resolutions passed at the Convention in September, 1941, opposing Communism, Nazism and Fascism and supporting President Roosevelt. He introduced a copy of *Il Leone* for January, 1942, reporting the extraordinary session of the supreme officers in Philadelphia on January 20th at which time the order was committed to an all-out war effort, pledged to purchase Defense Bonds and to encourage the able-bodied members to join the armed forces and women's auxiliaries and to assist local Red Cross chapters. He cited statistics on aid to the American Red Cross and the purchase of bonds by the members. He stated emphatically that the interned members of the organization were traitors to the order and that the *Sons of Italy* did not in any way condone their un-American activities.

### Italian Chamber of Commerce

Sylvester Andriano admitted having been president of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* in San Francisco for the past two years. (Volume VI, pp. 1905-1928.) He stated that the chamber had published a magazine known as the *Rassegna Commerciale* and a bulletin. *Rassegna Commerciale* was registered under the United States Government Registration Act and he admitted that he was 'likewise registered as the agent of a foreign government for two years. He stated that the reason for this registration was because the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* in San Francisco had been receiving a subsidy from the Italian Government to foster better trade relations and travel between the United States and Italy. He stated that the sum varied from \$1,000 to \$2,400 a year. He had no knowledge of any member of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* resigning during the term of his presidency because of his management of it.

Andriano had been a director of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* for about 20 years. (Volume XII, pp. 3396-3450.) The organization dissolved after Pearl Harbor.

His testimony in connection with the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* was inconsistent on several occasions. He stated that it had received about \$2,000 annually from the Italian Government because the chamber advertised "travel" for Italy and because of this subsidy the chamber was forced to register as an agent of a foreign government with the United States Department of State. He then denied that the travel agency was connected in any way with the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* and stated that the travel agency had always paid for ads in the chamber's magazine. He argued this point at some length very unconvincingly.

In 1939 the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* materially increased its staff. Andriano claimed that this increase was necessary during the rush of business for the San Francisco Exposition. Ordinarily it only employed only three or four employees. Camille Branchi, former secretary of the chamber, according to Andriano, left for Chile "to visit his family" several months before the chamber closed.

Later he testified that the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* was "still practically open" with Miss Clara Semanario in charge. (Volume XII, pp. 3396-3450.)

Ettore Patrizi admitted having been a member of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* for 12 years and at the time of testifying, December 6, 1941, he was the vice president. (Volume VII, pp. 1936-1963.) He denied any knowledge of members of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* resigning because of pro-Fascist activities on the part of the chamber or its officers.

Mario L. Perasso had been the president of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* for 18 years. (Volume XIII, pp. 3632-3641.) He was an insurance broker by occupation and came to the United States in 1891. He was naturalized at the age of 21. Sylvester Andriano succeeded him as president of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* in 1940.

He stated that the chamber was organized in San Francisco in 1885 and that it was similar to hundreds of American chambers of commerce throughout the world, such as those in Milan, Italy, and other Italian cities. He stated that the Italian Tourist Bureau began its operations

in 1932 under the supervision of Dr. Giuseppe Facci, who was then the Secretary of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* and, at the time of testifying, May 27, 1942, was an United States Government employee in Washington, D. C. He stated that *Enit* (Tourist Bureau) distributed literary essays on music and celebrities of science, such as *Fruili*, a booklet which was submitted to the committee. He stated that the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* differed in no manner from the *Netherlands Chamber of Commerce*. He stated that *Rassegna* had published articles on agriculture, commercial and statistical matters for 55 years, in addition to "a generous sprinkling of literary brain children of Dr. Branchi." Perasso claimed that he had not read the 50th Anniversary Edition of *La Rassegna* in which Mussolini was praised. He claimed that the chamber had around 150 members at the time that it was closed. The regular members paid \$18 yearly as dues.

Dr. Giuseppe Facci had resigned from the chamber because the board of directors did not approve of his activities on behalf of Upton Sinclair, a candidate for Governor of California. He stated that the chamber did not approve of Dr. Facci going into politics. He stated that he had no knowledge that Dr. Facci was anti-Fascist, but knew that he was very liberal.

He claimed that the editor of the chamber's magazine *La Rassegna*, had full control of the editorial policy of the publication.

## 5

### THE ITALIAN CONSULATE

Sylvester Andriano denied having acted as attorney or legal advisor for the Italian Consulate in San Francisco. (Volume XII, pp. 3396-3450.) He admitted that he had handled business through the Consulate but that this business was mostly in reference to the estates of deceased Italians.

He stated that the Italian Consulate closed June 15, 1941. (Volume XII, pp. 3396-3450.) He claimed that he did not authorize Ettore Patrizi to publish the statement contained in *L'Italia* which reported that Sylvester Andriano would henceforth handle matters for the Italian Consulate. He explained that he had volunteered to assist persons who were puzzled about where they should make applications to the Consulate, but that all he did was to give them the address of the Italian Embassy in Washington.

Giovacchino Pisani was the owner of a printing establishment, *Pisani Printing Company*, located at 700 Montgomery Street in San Francisco. (Volume XIII, pp. 3655-3662.) He had lived in San Francisco for 34 years and had been a citizen of the United States for 26 years. He admitted having a wide business acquaintance in the Italian colony in the Bay Area and had assisted the Italian language schools in raising money. He had occupied a seat on the board of the schools while Sylvester Andriano visited in Italy. He stated that he had never examined the textbooks used and that his only connection with the schools over a period of nine years was that he had made donations to them.

He disclaimed any knowledge of the activities of the *Fascio Umberto Nobile Society* and claimed that he was never connected with the

*Ex-Combatenti Society.* He admitted that he once printed *Il Leone* "years back," but stated that he was not printing Italian publications at the time of testifying, May 27, 1942. He said that about 2 per cent of his business was Italian and that he had never worked for Ettore Patrizi.

He admitted having been decorated by the Italian Government, the Cavaliere, and stated that he had received this decoration from the Italian Consul, Rinaldi, for fine printing—for artistic work. He stated that he is much too busy to enter into the political phase of the Italian community, and, of course, was not aware of the Fascist activities in the colony. He stated that he had never heard anyone praise Mussolini but admitted that he had never heard his Italian acquaintances make any statements against Mussolini. He said that he had not participated in the scrap metal drive for Italy, but stated that he perhaps had given "a dollar." He concluded his testimony by stating: "I am just friendly with everybody. \* \* \*"

Christine Galdieri had been employed as a stenographer by the Italian Consul in San Francisco since August 27, 1937, and had continued in this occupation until the Italian Consulate was closed by the United States Government. (Volume XIII, pp. 3555-3557.) She stated that the Consul and his staff were out of the office by July 5, 1941. She had been engaged in handling English correspondence and "personal work" for the Consul and Vice Consul. She claimed that she knew nothing of Rinaldi's connection with the Italian language school and stated that she did not believe the Consulate engaged in any pro-Fascist propaganda work.

Vincenzo Zirpoli was formerly an attache with the Italian Consulate in San Francisco. (Volume XIII, pp. 3480-3499.) He was employed by the *Worldwide Insurance* and *Occidental Life Insurance Company* in San Francisco. He is an Italian alien. He arrived in San Francisco February 24, 1928, and for some time was employed by the Italian Consul General. He served 13 different Consuls over a period of 34 years. (He failed to explain this apparent discrepancy by listing his services in Consulate offices in places other than San Francisco.) He stated that he had quarreled with the last Vice Consul, Toscani, and he had then resigned. He said he was "too old" in ideals and he believed that the Consuls should stick to the manual of rules but that Consuls and Vice Consuls persisted in deviating.

In 1924 or 1925 the New York Italian Consulate represented the *Fascio* and wanted the San Francisco office to establish a *Fascio* on the West Coast. Eventually a man by the name of Pallavicini was chosen as the *Fascio* delegate from San Francisco. The San Francisco Consul had written Italy and had stated that the *Fascio* had no place in America, but Italy, nevertheless ordered the establishment of a *Fascio* club and the *Fascio Umberto Nobile Society* was established. He stated that Pallavicini had lived much too long in the United States to become a good Fascist and that considerable friction arose concerning the club and on the suggestion of the Italian Consul General of San Francisco, Zillitti, the club was dissolved in 1928 or 1930. It had existed since about 1924. Zirpoli did not know where the meetings of the organization were held. Pallavicini had been the Chief Editor of *L'Italia*.

He narrated the incidents of the Renzetti regime in San Francisco's Italian Consulate. He stated that Major Renzetti came to San Francisco from Germany in 1936 as a temporary Consul and had been president of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* in Berlin. He held the rank of major in the Italian Army. Zirpoli stated that Renzetti had not spread Fascist propaganda and did not know of him giving any particular orders other than to instruct the employees of the Consulate to dress and act well. He stated that Rinaldi, another Italian Consul in San Francisco, neglected his duty and even wore a uniform to the office. He stated that Rinaldi was a fanatic and paid great attention to the Italian language schools and had been instrumental in bringing two men from Italy as Consular employees but that they were assigned to teach in the Italian language schools in San Francisco. They were definitely under Rinaldi's orders.

He stated that the books for the Italian language schools had always been printed in Italy. He had seen many of the textbooks used in San Francisco and identified the imprint "Anno 11" as meaning the eleventh year of Fascism. "Anno 11" was inscribed on the textbook used in the San Francisco language schools. He stated that the Italian Consulate had charge of the Italian language school. The text-books came from Italy to the Consulate every year. The schools received a subsidy of \$20 a month from Italy (100 Lira) and on one occasion \$500 was sent for the purpose of meeting the expense of cleaning the school and at another time to pay the taxes.

He was aware of the drive in San Francisco which professed to assist the Italian Red Cross during Italy's war with Abyssinia and stated that "money was raised and gold was received" and the funds were sent to the Italian Embassy in Washington, D. C. by the San Francisco Consulate. He likewise recalled that the San Francisco *Scavengers' Association* had collected scrap metal and that it was hauled to Pier 41 for transportation to Italy.

He admitted that the San Francisco Italian Consulate had an official connection with the *Ex-COMBATTENTI Society* and stated that Renzetti had been a member of the organization.

He believed that there were still six or seven Italian language school branches in San Francisco and approximately 39 in the State of California.

He denied that he had ever told anyone to change their doctors and to choose one in sympathy with Mussolini, as was charged in a letter which had been read into the committee's records.

## 6

### ITALIAN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

Sylvester Andriano stated that he was not aware of pro-Fascist publications in the City of San Francisco. (Volume VI, pp. 1905-1928.) He claimed that he had never seen foreign motion pictures of a pro-Fascist character and had never heard a radio broadcast that he considered pro-Fascist. He claimed that he did not read the Italian language newspaper, *Il Corriere*, and therefore had not read the article introduced into the committee's record at page 1918 of Volume VI, in which Andriano had been branded as the brain trust of the Fascist

movement in California. He stated that he had no interest in newspapers other than the *Lunine*, which he stated he founded in 1937.

He admitted that he knew Ettore Patrizi very well and identified him as the editor and publisher of the newspaper, *L'Italia*. He was aware that Patrizi had received a decoration from Mussolini. He was also acquainted with *La Voce del Popolo*, published and edited by Patrizi. He stated that he did not believe that these newspapers went "out of their way" to advocate Fascism.

Henrietta Setaro was the secretary-treasurer of the *L'Italia Press Company*. (Volume XIII, pp. 3584-3592.) She stated that she had spent her life in San Francisco and was born in Virginia City, Nevada. She had been connected with the *L'Italia Corporation* for 30 years and had done secretarial work for Ettore Patrizi. She was familiar with the two Italian language newspapers, *L'Italia* and *La Voce del Popolo* and said that the two papers had merged in January, 1940. She was familiar with the financial structure of the corporation but claimed that she had nothing to do with the editorial policy of the papers. She admitted that she scanned them but did not read them carefully.

She disclaimed having had anything to do with the collection of gold, rings and scrap metal for shipment to Italy during the Abyssinian campaign.

Bacoccini was formerly the advertising manager and, at the time of testifying, May 26, 1942, Arthur Bignami was in charge of advertising.

She recalled that Ettore Patrizi had a picture of Mussolini in his office but stated that he had taken it down after war was declared together with the other Italian officials' pictures. (Some of these pictures were autographed.) She believed that Patrizi had taken the pictures to his home after removing them from his office.

The Italian Consul, Rinaldi, had visited the office of the newspapers two or three times and she believed that Renzetti had been there once or twice. Ettore Patrizi had made a trip to Italy in 1937 and returned in January of 1938. She stated that he had made the trip about every two years and that she was in charge of the office in his absence. She was quite positive that Patrizi had paid his own expenses on these trips to Italy. She stated that the newspaper had not employed "strangers" for 25 years or more. There were presently 53 employees on the pay roll, 26 of whom were employed in the print shop. She corroborated Patrizi's testimony in reference to Ronchi and stated that he had been discharged from *La Voce del Popolo* because business was bad. She declared that Ronchi lied if he claimed he was discharged because of the pro-Fascist tendencies of the paper.

She named the Bank of America as the largest advertiser in *La Voce del Popolo* and believed that Lachman Brothers were the largest advertisers in *L'Italia*.

L. E. Townsend is the advertising director of the *Bank of America* in San Francisco. (Volume XIII, pp. 3623-3626.) He had held that position since September of 1936. The bank uses the *Charles R. Stewart Advertising Agency* and places its advertising through that firm. He stated that the bank had a small contract with *Il Corriere* in 1934 or 1935, before he held his present position with the concern. He

believed that the amount spent with *Il Corriere* was about \$235. He was aware that the Bank of America used the Italian language newspapers of Mr. Patrizi for advertising and believed that they spent between \$2,000 and \$4,000 yearly with his papers, as compared with \$5,000 to \$6,000 with the *San Francisco Chronicle*. He stated that the foreign budget included papers in Chinese, Russian, Spanish, French, etc. The bank had five branches in the Italian district in San Francisco and that accounted for the amount of advertising placed in Patrizi's newspapers. He did not know anything about the political policies of Carmelo Zito. He claimed that the *Bank of America* had 425 newspapers on list to which it placed advertising.

Ettore Patrizi was born in Terni, Italy. (Volume VII, pp. 1936-1963.) He is the publisher and editor of *L'Italia* and *La Voce del Popolo*. He stated that both papers were owned by a corporation called the *Italia Press Corporation* but that he controlled the corporation by owning the majority of the stock.

He stated that an interview printed in the *San Francisco Daily News* in October of 1941 misquoted him and that he had never said that Italian-Americans would refuse to fight against Italy. What he had said, he explained, was that he did not believe that the United States Government should force American-Italians into a branch of service where they would have to fight against Italy.

He explained that the last decoration received by him from the Italian Government made him an officer of the Crown of Italy. He admitted that he had had a controversy through the press with Senator Borah over the matter.

He had followed Italian activities for some time and believed himself to be in possession of considerable knowledge concerning Fascism. He could see no good reason why American citizens should not receive decorations from the Italian Government. He stated that the last decoration received by him was presented by Senator Demichelis of Italy who was in the United States on government business. He stated that the decoration was presented in admiration of the good work he had done among Italian immigrants and he could see nothing wrong in accepting it.

He admitted making trips frequently to Italy. He stated that the majority of the Italians in Italy were behind Mussolini and his reforms and he believed that Mussolini's regime had come into power because of its strong opposition to the Russian variety of revolution which was threatening Italy at the time of Mussolini's intervention. He claimed that Mussolini had given Italy "the best labor legislation in the world." He did not believe that the Italians have very much sympathy for Germany and Germany's cause. He stated that they hated the Austrians and regarded the Germans as a similar type of people. The Jewish people of Italy were not laboring people, according to Patrizi and, therefore, the anti-Semitic laws of the Italian Government had no effect on Italy's working class. He stated that the Jews constitute a very small percentage of the population and that most of the race belonged to the professional class.

He claimed to have but slight knowledge of the Italian radio programs in San Francisco. He admitted running a radio log in his papers which included Italian language broadcasts.

Ettore Patrizi was examined the second time on May 27, 1942. (Volume XIII, pp. 3677-3706.) He testified that he had formerly published a Swiss (Italian) Weekly, *Solonia Svizzera*.

Patrizi branded Carmelo Zito and Gilbert Tuoni as two of his most bitter enemies and stated that they were dishonest. He suggested that the committee investigate both of them. He claimed that they had lied and had disturbed the Italian colony at a time when the country was in need of unity. He claimed that Zito continued to stir up agitation on an anti-Fascist basis and he considered anti-Fascist agitation as disturbing as *Fascist* agitation. He stated "these fellows keep the colony in turmoil \* \* \* with their lies and false information." He alleged that Gilbert Tuoni had formerly been connected with the Italian Consulate and had worn "the black shirt." Tuoni, he continued, had belonged to the "squadron of punishment" and had spread Italian propaganda and exhibited Italian propaganda films before the war. Patrizi was asked to bring proof to the committee of his statements but failed to do so.

He was shown a copy of *L'Italia* for July 29, 1933, and asked to translate an article appearing in it. The translated article reported Mussolini's organization as admirable and well adapted to the needs of the different classes in Italy. It claimed the Fascist form of government the sanest, "most complete form of government on which the people can depend." He stated that Mr. Bacoccini had written the article. He recalled the controversy over Pietro Bono in 1937 while he was visiting in Italy, and an article printed in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* for August 18, 1937, stating that the Italians were not happy under the dictatorship of Mussolini. He admitted that this article was answered in *L'Italia* August 23, 1937, branding the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* article a "vile libel" on Italy. He stated that Pietro Bono wrote the article in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* (in Italian) and that Bacoccini had written the answer in *L'Italia*. Bacoccini was "a fine gentleman, \* \* \* not so expert as I," he commented. In this connection he identified his own signature on a letter which he had written from Milan, Italy. The letter was addressed to Bacoccini and advocated silence in dealing with persons and newspapers who are "unworthy." He told Bacoccini, however, that he was justified in his answer to Pietro Bono and that his action was laudable in attacking "the most perfidious of all those who wrote recently about conditions in Italy."

He had written an article in *La Rassegna Commerciale* for July of 1940 concerning Fascist activities and sympathies in the Italian colony in San Francisco and New York and speculated on the position of the Italians in America if Italy should enter the war on the side of Germany.

Patrizi stated that the activities to which he had referred in this article were "sentimental demonstrations." He stated that the "sentimental demonstrations" were "mild" in San Francisco; that "no real dangerous Fascist activity" existed in this city. He claimed that the San Francisco Italians had a "platonic" love for Italy.

He admitted having written an article in *L'Italia* of October 27, 1941, which stated that the United States Government would not send Italian soldiers abroad to fight against Italy. He stated that the

conclusions on the part of the members of the committee were wrong concerning this article. He said he had written, "No matter how they (Italians) love their mother country, they would do their duty." He stated, however, that he did not believe the United States Government would force Italians to fight against their "brothers" of Italy.

When shown an article in the *La Voce del Popolo* for April 9, 1942, in reference to Bataan being taken by the Japanese, he admitted that the word "finalmente" looked funny, but that its use was innocent of any intention to convey sympathy with the Japanese. He stated that the individual who wrote the title was a Swiss who did not know the fine shades of meaning in the Italian language and claimed that he had made the same mistake in the other newspaper, *L'Italia*, for April 9 and 10, 1942. He defended the meaning of the word "finalmente" and argued against the interpretation of the word as defined in Petrocchi's Dictionary and its English equivalent of meaning "joy in accomplishment."

He was shown a copy of the *L'Italia* for April 26, 1942, containing an article under the title "*They Talk Again of Peace.*" He said that he had spoken hopefully of peace. He branded Hitler as a "merciless dictator" and said that his was the "principal culpability for the terrific tragedy which sweeps the whole world." He pointed out that the Italian people were not in favor of the war and said that they desired to bring it to a speedy end. The same article, "*They Talk Again of Peace*" appeared again in the April 28, 1942 issue and he stated the reason for its reprint was to correct the "typographical errors" that had appeared in the article when first printed.

He admitted that he had never written anything against Fascism in his papers. He claimed that he had denounced Mussolini as "a very bad servant" on several occasions. He believed that Mussolini had "worked for the restoration of Italy."

He admitted having written a book which was favorable to Mussolini in 1924. He stated that he felt that he could write as he pleased after he had established himself as an American citizen. He had witnessed the turmoil in Italy in 1920. He recalled the murder of Matteoti, a member of the Italian Parliament 18 months after Mussolini had taken over the government and stated that this murder had caused considerable dissension. He wrote a letter to Mussolini which he claimed was subsequently published. "Remember I had in Italy my mother, my sister, all of my family," he added, even though his home was in San Francisco. He remonstrated with the members of the committee who had suggested that he should have stayed in Italy. He translated a letter he had written to Mussolini in which he characterized himself as a "strong Italian to the marrow of my bones," and assured Mussolini that "I put myself at your disposal, if I can help you in any mission, any work bound for the welfare of the mother country." He stated that Mussolini and the Fascists had done "wonderful things for Italy." He likened his feelings toward Mussolini to his feelings for Roosevelt in 1932. He said that he had gone on the radio and spoken for Roosevelt and that now he felt that Roosevelt had forgotten the good of the country. He added that Roosevelt had saved the banks and the institutions of the United States. He believed that the situation in the United States when Roosevelt was first elected

was similar to the situation in Italy in 1922 when Mussolini came to power, and believed that the parallel has continued throughout the regime of both men.

He stated that Ronchi, who had testified in the committee's December hearing in San Francisco and who was later discharged from his employment on the *La Voce del Popolo*, was discharged for reasons of economy. He stated that Alonzo Tutt had never worked for him.

Patrizi, *of course*, stated that he had no knowledge of pro-Fascist activities in the City of San Francisco.

He stated that the *Dante Society* had a library in *Fugazi Hall* and that "they" gathered books for the library from time to time. The *Dante Society* maintained offices at *Fugazi Hall*. He admitted that he had been president of this society for a long time.

He was able to recall that collections had been taken in San Francisco for the benefit of interned Italian sailors and stated that there were over 1,000 interned in Montana who needed clothes, toilet articles, etc. He claimed that the United States Government had granted permission to the daily newspapers in New York to open a drive to aid Italian prisoners in Europe.

## 7

### ITALIAN LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

Mrs. Carola Bruschera stated that she had been a member of the board of directors of the Italian language schools in San Francisco since about 1928. She later stated that it might have been 1914 or 1915. (Volume XIII, pp. 3499-3503.) The board of directors met once a year. They did not handle textbook material. They merely met for the purpose of raising money. She stated that she paid the teachers. She had not read the textbooks and denied that the schools taught propaganda, stating that they only taught "manners" and the Italian language.

Rose M. Fanucchi stated that Angelo Bacoccina, founder and editor of *Il Leone*, also taught in the Italian language schools in San Francisco. (Volume XIII, pp. 3540-3555.) He was an alien and was apprehended December 8, 1941, and, according to Miss Fanucchi was "unfortunately" in a concentration camp.

She stated that she had examined the Italian language schools' textbooks to satisfy her own curiosity. The textbooks examined by Miss Fanucchi, however, were not the same books, according to her testimony, as those in possession of the committee. She stated that she did not know very much about the Italian language schools but that she did know that one instructor was paid by the Italian Government. She was acquainted with Rinaldi, an Italian Consul in 1937.

She stated that the youth groups of the Italian language school were organized into fencing classes, basket-ball teams, etc. She claimed that they had a band and that if they wore uniforms, they were band-uniforms.

Nicholas Ilacqua, an alien, admitted knowing Mario Perasso and identified the financial statement of *Fugazi Hall*, although he claimed he knew nothing concerning it. (Volume XIII, pp. 3641-3646.) He failed to explain his connection with *Fugazi Hall*. He claimed that

the statement had not come from his office. He admitted knowing that the symbol "XVI" signified the sixteenth year of Fascism. The "Ilaqua" who signed the statement December 31, 1937, was Carmel Ilaqua, his brother, who was in the custody of the United State Government in Missoula, Montana. He had been a clerk in the office of the Italian Consulate in 1937 under Rinaldi.

He claimed that he had no connection with Fascist organizations; that he did not subscribe to *L'Italia* or *La Voce del Popolo* and that his only official connection with any of these organizations was for a short period when he served on the board of directors of the Italian language school.

Mario L. Perasso disclaimed any knowledge of the Italian language schools in San Francisco, although he admitted serving on the board of directors. (Volume XIII, pp. 3632-3641.) He had been appointed by Sylvester Andriano and had attended two meetings. He had not examined the textbooks and claimed that he took Andriano's word that they had been accepted by the San Francisco Board of Education. He disclaimed ever having seen a certificate given to the pupils of the school and did not know that the *Fasces* or a Fascist date was printed or inserted on them.

Charles Henry Tutt acted as translator for the committee during its San Francisco hearings on Italian Fascism. (Volume XII, pp. 3337-3344.) Tutt was born in Canada and graduated from the University of Western Ontario in 1921. He taught French, Italian and Spanish in various schools in the United States. He had visited Italy several times for study and research, returning to the United States the last time in 1928. He did translating for publishing houses, *Bertrano Publishing Company* of New York, in particular. He stated that he was the secretary of the *Mazzini Society* in San Francisco. He described the *Mazzini Society* as an anti-Fascist organization. He is an American citizen.

He translated certain passages from the issue of March, 1936, of *La Ressegna*, the official magazine of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* in San Francisco. (Volume XIII, pp. 3471-3479.) Mussolini had signed a picture to the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* and it was dated "Rome, January 27, year 14," the year 14 referring to the fourteenth year of the Fascist regime. Tutt translated at page 15 of this issue under a section devoted to T. R. T., which, he stated, were the initials of the Italian tourist organization. The wave-lengths of Rome radio stations were listed. A picture of L. M. Giannini with the inscription "New President of the Bank of America" was flanked by Crosses of Savoy and Fasces.

Another article referred to "Grand Officer Ettore Patrizi" who had returned to San Francisco after several months stay in Italy. The article stated that he had been received many times by His Excellency Mussolini and that he had had conversations with Senator Guglielmo Marconi. The report continued and stated that due to his articles in the newspaper *L'Italia*, San Francisco co-nationals (Italians) had been able to learn that "all of Italy, without exception, is behind Il Duce \* \* \*". The article went on to laud Italy's role in the war with Ethiopia. In the same magazine for April, 1936, the officers of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* were listed over the symbol of ENIT,

the tourist agency of the Italian Government. The translated article stated that the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* officially represents the ENIT agency "for all the Pacific Coast." A translated item from the December, 1936, issue of *La Rassegna* stated that the Italians of California had presented a flag-pole to Rome. A translated article in the September, 1936, *La Rassegna* denounced Roosevelt for not accepting Fascism and indicated that Fascism was the only way out of economic chaos.

An English article from the issue of October, 1935, of the *La Rassegna*, lauded Fascism and the Fascist State "as a higher and more powerful expression of personality \* \* \* a special force \* \* \* a discipline of the whole person; it permeates the will no less than the intellect \* \* \*."

Mr. Tutt identified a grammar from the Italian language school in *Fugazi Hall* and translated material from it. (Volume XIII, pp. 3706-3714.) The translation revealed that the inscription for "Italian Schools Abroad" was distinguished from Italian schools at "home," or in Italy. Tutt ventured the belief that this textbook belonged to the second category of propagandizing, namely, the setting forth of something that was desired to be established as a fact. In listing the "ABC's," "B" stands for *Balilla*, the children's Fascist organization. Many other references to Fascism were contained in the textbook. The book contained illustrations of children garbed in *Balilla* uniform.

References were made to "Roberto" which indicated the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo; "Ro" for Rome, "ber" for Berlin and "to" for Tokyo. The *Fascio littorio* was illustrated by a soldier in a Fascist uniform saluting the Italian flag. A translation of a sentence alleged that "Benito Mussolini has reawakened the energies of the race." Another sample sentence stated that "Fascist Italy drains the swamps," and another that "Il Duce was acclaimed by the crowd," etc. Pictures of children giving the Fascist salute constituted another example of propaganda. Many quotations from the writings of Mussolini were included in the book and orders are given to obey the mandates of Fascism. The words of Giovinezza, the Fascist Hymn, were included. Tutt branded the textbook as Fascist from cover to cover.

Ottorino Ronchi was a member of the faculty of the University of California from 1917 to 1929 in the Italian Language Department. (Volume VIII, pp. 1965-1980.) He was acquainted with Sylvester Andriano and once worked for Ettore Patrizi, San Francisco Italian language newspaper publisher. His work was connected with *L'Italia*, and later, *La Voce del Popolo*. He had severed his connections with Patrizi in December of 1940.

Ronchi was acquainted with the Italian language schools in the City of San Francisco. He said they were first established for sentimental reasons in 1887 for the purpose of teaching the Italian language only. He stated that after Italy became Fascist, the schools became the means of dissemination of Fascist doctrines. He admitted having been connected with the Italian schools in 1920, and had served on the schools' board of directors.

He stated that a "*Fascio*" (Bundle) was started in every Italian community after 1922, and later, due to friction, Mussolini had ordered all "*Fascios*" disbanded in the United States. He stated that Fascist

propaganda was then disseminated more subtly. The Italian language schools of San Francisco became real Fascist schools. In this connection, he called the committee's attention to a report dated May 6, 1938, by the United Press which stated that the Italian Government had spent \$6,500,000 for propaganda in foreign countries. This included \$3,000,000 for schools in South America, North America and France.

Ronchi translated the text of the Third Reader used in the Italian schools in San Francisco as follows: "You little Italian children are forced to be away, far away from your own country, but remember, when you really love a country she is not far, far away \* \* \*. Remember that it is Italy everywhere where the three colors of our Flag make your hearts vibrate. \* \* \* Italy \* \* \* the sweet name of Mother."

Ronchi declared that he had personally met Mussolini when he was about 20 or 21 years of age.

He ventured the opinion that there is no compatibility between Fascism and the American form of Government. He stated that there is no free press or free speech in Fascist Italy.

He translated from the Italian Third Reader textbook on *Roma*, the city of dreams, which described the greatness of Mussolini, Il Duce, and extolled *Fascio* and the Black Shirt symbol (pp. 1973-1974). He stated that he believed "emotional and moral chaos" was created by foreign governments in indoctrinating children with foreign ideologies. He stated that the Italian language schools are now merely propaganda centers instead of language and cultural institutions.

He stated that *La Voce del Popolo* was launched some 82 years ago.

He was a follower of Mazzini, who advocated a Republic for Italy.

Patrizi bought *La Voce del Popolo* in 1919. Ronchi went to work for him on this paper at about that time. The paper followed a rather liberal policy in the beginning. Patrizi asked him to continue with the paper when Fascism reared its head in Italy. He did so and criticized the regime of Mussolini after 1924. About this time he received orders not to write any more articles against the *Fascisti* or Mussolini. The manager of the paper told him that Patrizi had given the order. Later a Mr. Lati bought Patrizi out and matters became easier on the paper as Lati told Ronchi he could write what he pleased.

Ronchi expressed the opinion that the suppression of the foreign language press would be a mistake because, he stated, they do disseminate culture which is not obtainable from American papers. He extended the same thought to the abolition of foreign language schools.

Ettore Patrizi testified that he and Sylvester Andriano had been friends for 25 or 30 years. (Volume VII, pp. 1936-1963.) He admitted having been acquainted with the Italian language schools in San Francisco and stated that these schools taught the Italian language, Italian geography and history. He had been connected with the board of these schools for the past 40 years. Sylvester Andriano had succeeded him as the president of the board. The books were printed by the Ministry of Public Education in Italy and he admitted that they "spoke about the present regime or institution" in Italy since it became Fascist. (p. 1941.) After 1922, when Italy became Fascist, the books were changed in the Italian schools. He said that several teachers came

over from Italy to teach in the San Francisco Italian language school and that two or three of them were still teaching at the time of testifying, December 6, 1941. He said that the children attending the Italian language school between the ages of 14 and 16 had an athletic club and used a uniform of some sort. He claimed that he could see nothing wrong in foreign governments maintaining language schools in the United States. He stated that Italian language schools were scattered all over the world. The Italian Government made a small subsidy to the Italian language schools in San Francisco and had done so for the past 30 years. The schools also received a subsidy from the *Italian Chamber of Commerce*. He identified the textbooks used in the schools.

Sylvester Andriano admitted having knowledge of medals which had been distributed to the students of the Italian language school in San Francisco by the Italian Consul. He was the president of the board of directors for the Italian schools and had so served for five or six years. He stated that there were three schools with five teachers in the City of San Francisco. He claimed that the teachers were appointed by the board of directors of the school, or an educational committee. He admitted that non-citizens might have been appointed as teachers. Under close examination he admitted that several years before two or three teachers came over from Italy, sent by the Italian Government. He claimed that he was not familiar with any of the textbooks used in the schools. He likewise claimed that he had submitted a complete list of all the books used in the Italian language schools to the San Francisco Board of Education. He denied that the schools were being used for the purpose of disseminating Fascist propaganda and admitted that if any such activities were being indulged in that he would have knowledge of it. He stated that he had kept in close touch with the activities of the schools and had attended their entertainments, etc. The Italian Government had always helped the Italian language schools in San Francisco since their inception. He stated that the Italian Government had furnished books and had given the best students medals. He stated that the Italian Consul had handled such matters. The textbooks were sent from Italy and were distributed through the Italian Consuls. He stated that he believed the books were the same as those distributed all over the world by the Italian Government. He claimed that some selection was afforded the local committee and admitted that he was a member of such a committee together with Mario Parisi. He "assumed" that the Italian Government published the textbooks and paid for them.

He believed that the Italian language schools were necessary in order to bring about better relations between Italian born parents and their American born children and in order to enable the children to learn the culture and language of their fathers. He ventured the opinion that he believed it made such children better American citizens and pointed out that such education is commercially valuable, enabling the students to secure positions where knowledge of the Italian language is essential. He claimed that children are unable to receive adequate education in the Italian language and its culture in the public schools of the State.

He stated that the Italian community in San Francisco actually selected the board of directors of the Italian language schools, and that

the funds for the support of the schools were solicited from the members of the community and that meetings were called for these purposes.

Appearing May 25, 1942 (Volume XII, pp. 3396-3450) Andriano denied that there was but one Italian language class existing in California prior to the advent of the Fascist Government in Italy. He stated that there were always three teachers and that more recently, the largest number was not more than six. He reiterated that the Italian Government had always furnished the textbooks as well as the medals and diplomas for the classes. He stated that the Italian Consul, Renzetti, in 1937 was responsible for considerable activity in the schools.

He stated that he had never seen a diploma used in the Italian language schools before examining the one in the possession of the committee, although he had been on the board of directors of the schools for many years. He now stated that his duties were principally concerned with the raising of money for the schools and he claimed that he never looked over the textbooks until copies had been requested by the Superintendent of Schools in the City of San Francisco. He admitted that some of the textbooks which had been introduced by the Italian Consul, Renzetti, had been withdrawn as objectionable. He admitted that the Italian Consul "had a lot to say" concerning the schools because the funds for the teachers, as well as the textbooks, were furnished by the Italian Government. He stated that the teachers for the schools in San Francisco had been sent over by the Ministry of Information of the Italian Government and that they came as "Directors of Culture." He stated that there was an "Americanization school" on North Beach, which the parents of American born Italian children were encouraged to attend. This was offered in contrast to the statement that the children of Italian born parents were encouraged to attend the Italian language schools better to understand their Italian born parents. He stated that the so-called "Americanism Schools" had been conducted for many years by the Salesian Fathers.

When shown a diploma used in the schools in San Francisco, Andriano admitted that the Roman numeral "XVI" indicated the sixteenth year of Mussolini's Fascist regime and admitted that the space on the Italian language schools' diploma might have been intended for the insertion of that numeral.

He stated that the Italian language schools in San Francisco "may have" received a contribution of 15,000 Lira from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Italy in December, 1937, as, in fact, was shown by a financial statement of the school. He denied that he had ever seen the statement before the committee brought it to his attention.

## 8

### SUMMARY OF ITALIAN FASCISM IN CALIFORNIA

The foregoing briefly outlines the intense Fascist activities in San Francisco. The committee found, as the activities of the *German-American Bund* were generally controlled from Los Angeles, the activities of the Italian Fascist movement were directed from San Francisco.

Emphasis must be placed upon the activities of Sylvester Andriano, Ettore Patrizi and Renzo Turco, apparently the triumvirate-spearhead

for Fascist activities and propaganda in California. Andriano had gone far in gaining prominence and influence in San Francisco, particularly in the Italian colony of the city. He had been a supervisor, a police commissioner and, most ironic and menacing of all, the chairman of North Beach Draft Board Number 100. He was the president of the Italian language school and had acted as the attorney for the Italian Consulate. He had made trips to Italy and had been honored with decorations from Mussolini's Government. This situation existed prior to Pearl Harbor and through May of 1942. The members of the committee were horrified that such a situation had been permitted to continue. A resolution was unanimously passed by the committee calling upon President Roosevelt to take immediate action in reference to Andriano and to remove him from his position on the Draft Board in San Francisco.

Ettore Patrizi, the publisher of the two large Italian language newspapers, was unequivocally pro-Fascist and engaged in Fascist activities and the dissemination of Fascist propaganda. It was amazing, if not actually alarming, that the Mayor of the City of San Francisco could testify that he was absolutely unaware of Fascist activities.

After the Fascist march on Rome in 1922, Ettore Patrizi made many trips to Italy. Among many other glowing expressions of admiration for the new regime of Mussolini, he wrote an introduction to a pamphlet bearing the imprint *Fascist Society of Italians Abroad* and expressed his great willingness to perform "any task, any effort, any mission aiming at the welfare of the fatherland." This attitude was reiterated later in an interview which he gave to a reporter of the *San Francisco News* in October of 1941. At that time Ettore Patrizi declared in effect that he trusted that this country would never make the mistake of forcing American soldiers of Italian descent to fight against Italy in the event of a war between the two nations.

When Sylvester Andriano returned from a trip to Italy he was interviewed by Ettore Patrizi. The result of the interview was published in Patrizi's paper and quoted Andriano in fervent praises of the Fascist regime. Andriano never repudiated this interview until he was questioned concerning it during the committee's May, 1942 hearing in San Francisco.

Pietro Bono, an American of Italian descent, was attacked viciously by Patrizi's papers for declaring in the *Monterey Herald* of August 18, 1937, that he had found great dissatisfaction with Fascism in Italy on his last trip there. Patrizi testified that he was not in San Francisco at the time his papers attacked Pietro Bono and stated that his editor had gone a bit too far. When confronted with the original of his own letter to the editor praising him for the article attacking Pietro Bono, Patrizi then admitted writing the letter and assumed responsibility for the attitude of his paper.

The Italian language schools should be a matter of concern to all Americans. Ettore Patrizi had been a director of these schools as well as a director of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce*. Andriano likewise had been president of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* for many years and president of the Italian language schools. He admitted that the *Italian Chamber of Commerce* had been listed with the State Department as a propaganda agent for a foreign government. The committee

studied translations from the official organ of the *Italian Chamber of Commerce*, *La Rassegna Commerciale*, and found that it reeked with Fascist propaganda. The Italian language schools used textbooks which were printed in Rome under the supervision of the Minister of Propaganda and sent gratis to America through the Italian Consulate. Many of the instructors were Italian aliens. The committee obtained copies of these textbooks and had them translated. In one instance a long exhortation from Mussolini was used to illustrate the proper use of the colon. They contained the pictures of the *Fasces*, marching Fascist soldiers and the most blatant sort of propaganda designed to fill the minds of young Italian-Americans with admiration for the strength of Fascist Italy and disrespect for democratic institutions.

It is rather significant that many witnesses examined in San Francisco who had been directly accused by many people of being pro-Fascist, and, from their own testimony involved in Fascist activities, denied having any knowledge whatsoever of Fascism or Fascist propaganda in the city. Both Andriano and Patrizi denied knowing anything concerning a *Fascio*. They were pointedly asked this question several times and in each case their answers were negative. Yet in an article which appeared in *La Rassegna Commerciale* for July, 1940, Patrizi himself stated that the *Fascio* had been formed throughout the world and that a unit was established in San Francisco.

Andriano testified that he was never connected with any organization which received subsidies from the Italian Government, except the schools and the *Italian Chamber of Commerce*. He was then handed a photostatic copy of the minutes of a meeting over which he had presided in *Fugazi Hall*. Among other things, the minutes reported that funds were being made available from Italy and were to be allocated between three groups, one of which was the *Fascio Umberto Nobile Society* of San Francisco. Andriano testified that he recalled everything in the minutes except the reference to *Fascio* which he vehemently and excitedly denied. Thereafter, Joseph Civinini, who wrote the minutes and took the notes at the meeting on which they were based, swore that the minutes were correct in every respect and that he independently recalled the portion which had been repudiated by Sylvester Andriano.

When the hearings were finished the committee was subjected to considerable criticism because of its temerity in calling the witnesses whose testimony is above outlined, and particular criticism was directed at the committee because it subpenead Mayor Angelo J. Rossi. It was, therefore, with some pardonable gratification, that the committee viewed the order from General DeWitt's headquarters removing Andriano, Patrizi, Turco and many others from the area comprising the Western Defense Command for the duration of the war.

The situation in the North Beach region of San Francisco since the Army order became effective has improved tremendously and subsequent conferences held with prominent Italian-Americans by members of the committee and its representatives indicate that there now exists a minimum of Fascist activity among the Italian people.

It must be stated, in all fairness, that despite the Andrianos, Patrizis, Turcos, et al., the great majority of the Italian-Americans in San Francisco and California are good, loyal American citizens.

## PART VI

### JAPANESE ACTIVITIES

On December 1, 1941, there were about 122,000 Japanese living on the Pacific Coast. About 96,000 of this number were citizens of the United States by virtue of the accident of birth. Alien Japanese are not eligible to citizenship under the Oriental Exclusion Act. The alien Japanese are known as *Issei*. Those born in the United States of Japanese alien parents are called *Nisei*, or second generation Japanese.

Subversive activities of the Japanese in California can not be understood, analyzed or combated without some knowledge of the Japanese religion and Japanese state philosophy. The result of the Japanese religion and state philosophy is a fanatic nationalism unknown anywhere else in the world.

Among the witnesses called and examined by the Committee on Japanese Activities in California were the following:

Roy Hampton	Carl Kazufumai Sato
Dr. Yu-Shan Han	Joseph Shinoda
Masao Kubose	Tokie Slocum
Dr. John Lechner	Togo Tanaka
P. D. Perkins	Fred Masaru Tayama
George Knox Roth	Edward L. Thrasher

#### 1

### KEBEIS

Every *Nisei* (second generation, American-born Japanese) who makes a voyage to Japan for the purpose of pursuing "cultural training" is known as a *Kebei*. There once were so many *Nisei* in Japan that local Japanese leaders on the Pacific Coast became embarrassed and an effort was made to bring them home in order to avoid suspicion against the Imperial Government of Japan. In this connection Dr. John Lechner quoted the *Hawaiian Sentinel* of January 27, 1938, as follows:

"As the result of the Manchurian incident and the spectacular performances of Japanese athletes in the recent Olympic Games, the love of Japan reached its boiling point among the second generation Japanese, who possess American citizenship rights. Things Japanese attract them so much that hundreds of these American-born youths are returning steadily to Japan for education. So great is this exodus of promising youths, that Japanese on the Pacific Coast are faced with a great catastrophe of losing their cherished rights which took them almost 50 years to gain.

"At a joint meeting, held recently by the Los Angeles Japanese Association and Los Angeles Japanese Chamber

of Commerce, it was unanimously moved to call back the second generation now in Japan. The Wakayama Prefectural Association in America formed an organization called 'Association of Calling Back Second Generation,' and sent Shiro Fukioka, 59, General Secretary of Los Angeles' Japanese Chamber of Commerce, as special envoy. The Foreign Office was so moved by Fukioka's plea, that it has sent out word to all immigration organizations in different prefectures to encourage a united drive, using this slogan, 'Second Generation Return Immediately to America!'

"Fukioka, who has spent nearly 40 years in Pacific Coast States, says thus in part:

'There are roughly about 20,000 American-born youths between the ages of 18 and 25 residing now in Japan. Being high school graduates, they are well versed with the conditions and things of Japanese and would make ideal immigrants to North America.' "

Among the affiliated *Kebei organizations*, Dr. Lechner lists the following:

*Wakayama Seinen Kai*  
*Hiroshimia Seinen Kai*  
*YMCA Wakagusha Kai*  
*Shinkyai*  
*Kana gawa Deshikai*  
*Kebei Division of YMCA*  
*Kai Nippon Seinenkai*  
*Kebei Seininkai of Kinto Kyohai*  
*Kebei Seinen of Buddhist Church*  
*Kebei Division of Zenshu Zi*

## 2

### DUAL CITIZENSHIP

Dual citizenship among the *Nisei*, or American-born Japanese, has been extensively practiced in California. Many Japanese-American organizations in California have vehemently denied the existence of dual citizenship among the *Nisei* but the evidence is quite overwhelming that it did exist up to Pearl Harbor.

## 3

### SHINTOISM

Many Japanese witnesses were examined on Shintoism, the State religion of the Japanese Empire, and the members of the committee and its representatives did considerable research on the subject. Many of the witnesses explained the traditional and deep-rooted traditions of the Japanese—Emperor and ancestor worship and the mental and emotional forces which explain the religious fervor the Japanese carry into combat and the contempt in which they hold death in battle.

Every true Japanese believes that the first Emperor, Jimnu Tenno, who reigned in 660 B. C., was descended directly from the Goddess of the Sun and that the whole race, therefore, is descended from divine ancestors and consequently superior to any other race on the face of the earth. The Japanese are taught from the cradle to revere the Emperor as the son of the Sun Goddess. This same reverence is displayed toward the parents and grandparents and manifests itself in ancestor worship. These beliefs bind the Japanese together over the world creating a sense of nationalism unknown to any nation or race. These beliefs are so thoroughly indoctrinated into the minds and hearts of the Japanese that few of them ever actually renounce their allegiance to the Emperor of Japan and when they actually become citizens of a foreign country they do so as a matter of form with their minds and hearts still in the Japanese Empire.

Dr. Yu-Shan Han was a visiting lecturer at the University of California at Los Angeles in the History Department. (Volume IX, pp. 2692-2715.) Dr. Han is Chinese and was born in Peking, China. He had been in the United States since 1941. He had formerly lectured at the Peking University under Dr. J. Layton Stewart. He holds a Ph.D. from Boston University. He had been at the University of California at Los Angeles since September of 1941, taking the place of a Japanese "who could not get back." He once taught Dr. H. A. Kung, brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-Shek, who is now at Harvard University.

Dr. Han stated that he was familiar with the ideological background of the Japanese Empire. The early history of Japan is referred to as the Age of the Gods or the Age of Mythology. The Japanese people believe that the Emperor of Japan is a direct descendant of the Goddess of the Sun and the symbol, relating ideology to the Japanese is the mirror, the sword and the jewel. He stated that the sword represents force. He narrated the early history of the Japanese Government. A military family throughout Japanese history dominated the entire country by force—there were many struggles in which the *Shoguns* secured control. He stated that *Shogunate* is a military class in Japan. A dual system of government resulted with the spiritual head in the Emperor and the actual leadership with the *Shoguns*. He stated that this situation existed for about 12 centuries. This long period of unbroken domination by the *Shoguns*, in Dr. Han's opinion, makes it very difficult to indoctrinate the Japanese with Western or Occidental ideas; a much more difficult task than to indoctrinate the Chinese people with Occidental ideas.

He narrated the planned system for the development of Japan laid out in the Nineteenth Century by Baron Okubo. He stated that this plan was worked out in decades, or 10-year periods. The first 10 years were devoted to internal development; the next 10 to educating Japanese in foreign schools so that they might learn and master foreign manners, languages, and ways; the third period to the development of economic intercourse with the outside world; the following 10 years to the building of a huge Army and Navy, and the final 10 years to the achievement and the ultimate goal which was designed to lead the yellow nations to conquest and victory against the white race. He stated that Baron Okubo was succeeded by Baron Tanaka who developed Okubo's plan. Baron Tanaka wrote a report and sent it to

the Emperor and it became known as the *Tanaka Memorial*. Baron Tanaka proposed that Japan develop a foothold in Asia, Korea, Manchuria, North China, French Indo-China, China proper, Thailand, Burma and so on.

Dr. Han had been a victim of the *Black Dragon* terror when he attempted to introduce western ways into China in opposition to the Japanese Puppet Government. A friend of his was assassinated in April and in June he personally received "the threat." Realizing that the members of the *Black Dragon Society* are in deadly earnest, Dr. Han left China. He stated that he did not believe that the American public had paid much attention to the real facts concerning Japan. "You good Americans are too gullible," he said dejectedly.

He stated that Shinto doctrines are principally Emperor worship and the worship of military leadership. "*Of all flowers, the cherry; of all men, the Samurai!*" Japanese parents maintain a strict discipline over their children and the children are taught to be obedient.

Masao Kubose was a Japanese Buddhist minister in Los Angeles. (Volume X, pp. 2998-3002.) He stated that he had been in charge of the Buddhist church located at 118 North Mott Street in Los Angeles since October of 1941. He differentiated between the *Buddhist* and *Shinto* religions. He stated that there exist several sects of Shintoism and that one of these sects is a pure state religion, in which the worship of deities in the mythological history of Japan is a unique feature. All Shintoists believe that the Japanese are descendants of gods, created from a union of earthly and heavenly gods. They believe that the Emperor of Japan is a direct descendant in an unbroken line from the Goddess of the Sun and that he is the divine representative of the Sun Goddess on earth.

He explained that Yamato meant Japan or Nippon. *Yama* means mountain; *to* means gates—*Yamato*, therefore, means, *where many mountains are*. When Chinese culture intruded, *Yamato* came to signify, "*to put in great harmony*," so that it now means "*a great harmony*." The word really has two meanings, one of which is geographical and the other ideological. The word finally became *Yamado* and the word *domoshi* was added so that the meaning became "*the great soul of harmony*." Hence, the Japanese, no matter where born, are proud of the blood of *Yamado domoshi* (or Yamato Damashii), the ideological "*great soul of harmony*" binding him to Japanese everywhere.

Kubose disclaimed any knowledge of Shinto temples or schools in the City of Los Angeles. He ventured the opinion that the Shinto sect should be permitted to function in the United States, stating, "Their full aim is to heal the sick and to do public service." He stated that some of the Shinto sects "promote good business, etc." These particular sects, Kubose stated, are not the sect of Japanese State religion. He agreed that the Shinto sect of Japanese state religion should be prohibited in the United States.

Dr. John Lechner testified (Volume XVI, page 3951) that Dr. Shunzo Sakamaki, Assistant Professor of History of the University of Hawaii, published an article in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* for April 25, 1942, in reference to the details of the Shinto faith. He explained that in the beginning of 1941 the Japanese Imperial Government had issued

an edict declaring that all Shinto priests in the United States and Hawaii and all Japanese language school teachers were from January of that year to be considered as officials of the Japanese Government. This edict, according to Dr. Lechner, amounted to actually removing the Shinto priests and the Japanese language schoolteachers from the field of religion and constituted them direct agents for the Japanese Government and all language schools as centers of Japanese espionage and propaganda. He quoted Dr. Sakamaki as follows:

"Why have Japanese officials for the past two generations been so eager to protect the special status of State Shinto? Why have they insisted that the State Shinto is not a religion but the embodiment of Japanese patriotism?

"Basically, the reason is that the Japanese Government has seen in Shinto a political tool of the greatest potency for keeping the fires of nationalism burning at white heat and making the doctrine of political absolutism in Japan virtually inviolable.

"\* \* \* Japan's Constitution of 1890 guarantees freedom of religious worship, but the Government has taken the position that State Shinto is not a religion and that, therefore, all Japanese must participate in State Shinto ceremonies, as part of their patriotic duty to the State.

"\* \* \* Operation of State Shinto here is inimical to American interests because it both directly and indirectly fosters Japanese nationalism, and arguments by Shinto champions that we can not infringe their right to free worship contradicts responsible pronouncement by Japanese officials denying the religious status of State Shinto. "We are at war with Japan, and State Shinto is an arm of the Government of Japan. Amputation of that arm here in Hawaii is prerogative of our Government that can not consistently be protested by the Government of Japan."

#### 4

#### JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS IN CALIFORNIA

It is estimated that there were more than 240 Japanese language schools in California alone. Some 19,000 Japanese boys and girls attended these schools before Pearl Harbor. It is estimated that nearly \$400,000 was spent in 1941 for the Japanese educational program directed from Tokyo.

Many of these schools were found to be under the direction of Shinto priests. They taught the intense nationalism of Japan and the committee is in possession of information and evidence that many of the schools were centers of Japanese propaganda and espionage.

Dr. John Lechner, chairman of the *Americanism Commission* of the Twenty-third District of the *American Legion*, Department of California, testifying before the committee in February of 1943 presented a number of photostatic documents together with a report recently compiled by the *Americanism Commission* of which he is chairman.

Among these documents is a translation by the United States Army Intelligence Department quoting the Rev. Shinryu Umehara, Japanese Buddhist priest, who had made a trip to the Pacific Coast and Hawaii for the purpose of inspecting the Japanese language schools. He stated March 27, 1934: "I felt while I was in America that the existence of Japanese schools and Buddhist organizations in the Japanese communities is grand, for they are the mother-bodies for fostering the national conscience, Japan's civilization and Japan's spirit."

Dr. Lechner pointed out that the most powerful Japanese directed organization reaching across the Pacific to weld the Japanese student in America to the Imperial Empire is the *Institute for the Education of Over-Sea Japanese*. He stated that this organization was founded on November 25, 1933 with its headquarters in Tokyo. The purpose and objective of this organization was stated in *Osaka Mainichi*: "The Institute of Over-Sea People's Education is an organization for infusing the Japanese spirit into the second generation of Japanese abroad. In other words, leave the second generation in the land of their residence but don't let them forget the Japanese spirit. In buying, select Japanese goods; in voting, cast ballots for politicians friendly to Japanese." Dr. Lechner pointed out that this objective was meant particularly for the Japanese-Americans living in Hawaii where their vote is a decisive factor.

Dr. Lechner called the committee's attention to an article which appeared in the *Rafu Shimpo*, a Los Angeles Japanese daily newspaper, owned by an alien Japanese, under date of Monday, February 17, 1941, as follows:

*"Re-educational Plan for the Promotion of the Fatherland"*

"The Niseis who were born and raised in the foreign land are to come to the Fatherland far away to find the company of the other sex. But they are confronted with difficulty coming from the differences of their habits and customs with those of the Fatherland. Here comes the problem of 'Re-education of the Nisei.'

"Meantime, to make the abroad compatriots understand the position of the Fatherland under the new regime of Pan-Asiatic principles, and to unite them to act for the realization of 'Enlightened Asia,' re-education of Nisei is necessary. So, Imperial Educational Association made a budget of yen 100,000 for the education of Nisei. For this purpose, the Committee on Over-Seas Education of the Association in cooperation with the Department of Education and the Department of Foreign Affairs of the government and the Goain (Institute for the Promotion of Asia), elected secretaries and established an office for educational guidance of the Nisei. The functions of the office at present are as follows:

- “1. Investigation of the educational conditions of Nisei, and of the living conditions of the teachers abroad.

"2. Establishment of the fundamental plan for the education of Nisei.

"3. Assistance in sending good teachers.

"At present, among the teachers abroad who are teaching Nisei, a good number of them want to come to the Fatherland. Meantime, many of the teachers here in this country have the desire to go abroad to fulfill their ambitions. A proper disposal of this situation alone would make a new atmosphere in the educational field. So, this new project of the association will be successful in every way."

The Japanese language schools scattered throughout the State were strikingly similar to the *Workers' Schools* of the *Communists*, the summer camps of the *German-American Bund* and the *Italian* language schools. The ideologies were radically different, of course, but in each case a scheme for world domination was being taught youngsters; a racial superiority, along with a contempt and disrespect for America's "decaying democracy." There existed one significant difference, however, in that the *German*, *Japanese* and *Italian* language schools, taught children who were descended from parents of foreign extraction, whereas the *Communist Workers'* schools and the *Young Peoples' Study Classes* took on all comers of whatever nationality or race.

Dr. Yu-Shan Han testified at some length concerning the Japanese language schools in southern California. (Volume IX, pp. 2692-2715.) In the third lesson of the primer used in these schools, Dr. Han stated there appeared a phrase, "*March forward, soldiers, march forward soldiers.*" He emphatically declared that Japanese children, even though born in the United States, were indoctrinated from birth with a deep reverence for the *Samurai*. The Japanese ambition to conquer and dominate the entire world is the basis of Japanese ideology and teaching. He stated that Japanese families abroad were held strictly responsible for the lack of courage of their sons on the battlefield and this responsibility caused all Japanese parents to instill a religious-warrior fervor in the Japanese male youth and accounts for the fanaticism of the Japanese in battle.

Dr. Han touched on the deep loyalty of the Japanese, both *Nisei* and *Issei*, to the Emperor of Japan and illustrated his point by stating that a Japanese teacher in Long Beach collected tinfoil and sent it back to Japan.

Masao Kubose was a *Buddhist* minister in charge of a church located at 118 North Mott Street in Los Angeles. (Volume X, pp. 2998-3002.) He stated that *Buddhist* priests had taught in some of the Japanese language schools in California. He stated that most *Buddhist* churches maintained Japanese language schools and that the *Buddhist* priests taught the Japanese children. He believed that the Japanese language schools promoted harmony between parents and their children. He said that there were no *Shinto* groups in Northern California but believed that they did exist in Southern California.

P. D. Perkins, former "Public Relations Advisor for the Japanese Consulate" in Japan, stated that he was somewhat familiar with the curricula of the Japanese language schools in the United States. (Vol-

ume IX, pp. 2716-2747.) "My first Japanese teacher," he stated, "was the teacher of a Japanese language school." He said that in many cases these instructors were *Buddhists* or *Shinto* priests. He disagreed with other witnesses by stating that instead of a high degree of parental discipline exercised by parents over children in Japan, that, to the contrary, "the child rules the father, not the father the child." He ventured the opinion that it depended wholly on the individual Japanese as to whether he grows up to become a good citizen or not and he believed that the fact that the individual was born of Japanese parents who happen to be fanatics in their devotion to Japan had no bearing on the matter.

Carl Kazufumai Sato, American-born Japanese, stated that he was a produce salesman in a wholesale market until it was closed. (Volume X, pp. 3002-3004.) He stated that "now I am doing what I can to help the people in our church." He admitted having attended the Japanese language school "until it got too hard and I quit." He contended that he had never heard Japanese propaganda at the school he attended. He claimed to have no knowledge of *Shinto* priests teaching in the Japanese language schools and stated that he was connected with the *Buddhist* church. He stated that the *Buddhist* religion had nothing to do with Japan and he claimed that he had no knowledge of *Shinto* sects.

## 5

## JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

The long planned and long range program of the Japanese to dominate the white races might have been clearly seen in the so-called *Decade System* of Baron Okubo, who, with his followers, believed that the Japanese Empire should adopt the method of the Occidental world in building a strong and economically sound nation. The intense belief in the divinity of the Emperor and the sense of racial superiority in the minds of the Japanese have led them to believe that they are destined for world domination. Baron Okubo divided the Empire's work into periods of 10 years each. His plan may be said to have been carried out in its entirety. Okubo, however, was not sufficiently war-minded to satisfy the military clique of Japan and he was assassinated in 1877. Another plan was formulated and added to the *Okubo Plan*; an aggressive program which has culminated in war against the white world. The *Tanaka Memorial*, written by a Japanese Premiere, declares unequivocally that America must first be crushed before Japan can expect permanently to dominate the Pacific.

Many critics of the *Tanaka Memorial* looked upon it as the fantastic dream of an unbalanced mind; the weird, imaginative excursion of a Japanese sadist. Dr. John Lechner stated that it was therefore regarded with skepticism and ridiculed by American leaders.

Dr. Lechner stated that it was not until an official document was discovered in the possession of two Japanese naval commanders visiting in "Little Tokio" at Los Angeles, written by one Kinoaki Matsuo, powerful *Black Dragon*, and key man in the Japanese Naval Intelligence Service, that interest in the *Tanaka Memorial* was revived. He stated

that Matsuo's analysis of the impending war, called "*The War Between Japan and the United States*," furnished an audacious blue-print of the various stages of the war.

He stated that Matsuo outlined each step in the plans of Japanese aggression. Matsuo outlined the Japanese plan to move northward into Alaska, striking simultaneously at Hawaii in the second stage of the war. He anticipates help from the Japanese in Hawaii when the Japanese Navy makes its bid for the islands. The third stage of the war, according to Dr. Lechner's interpretation of Matsuo's work, is an all out attack on California, Oregon and Washington, with the destruction of the Panama Canal. Dr. Lechner stated: "Matsuo does not hesitate to express with all the ego and fanaticism of the Japs that the Japanese forces will attempt large scale invasion of the coastal areas. Again, Matsuo expresses the conviction of the Japanese War Council, that effective cooperation may be anticipated from the *Issei* and *Nisei* residing on the Pacific Coast. Particularly when Japan would begin to crush the 'impregnable fortresses' of the Allied nations in the South Pacific, Matsuo intimates, would increased significance be given to her expectation of help from her Fifth Column in the United States. Revelations of Japanese ruthlessness and plans for wholesale sabotage made a speedy, effective disposition of the Japanese problem on the Pacific Coast more imperative."

Dr. Lechner reported plans promulgated among the Japanese agents to spread bacteria germs in the event such a step proved advantageous in undermining the morale of the American people in the final stage of the war. He stated that this is to be accomplished by dropping vials containing germs to spread bubonic plague and typhoid from collapsible airplanes to be carried to the shores of the Pacific Coast by large Japanese destroyer-submarines.

P. D. Perkins declared that he had "never heard" of pressure being brought on Japanese residents in the United States by the agents of Japan and that he had never heard of threats made against the members of families in Japan if American residents failed to obey Japanese mandates. (Volume IX, pp. 2716-2747.) (Perkins evidently desired to evade this issue.) He stated that he did not believe that the *Tanaka Memorial* or the *Okubo (Decade System)* exerted much influence upon the Japanese people. He stated that there is too much conflict between the Japanese for anyone to agree on a central plan (p. 2728). (Perkins apparently evaded this issue also and would not be drawn out on the present dominant faction in Japan.) He admitted that the Emperor of Japan was a figurehead but that he exerts "personal power." He pointed out that the Emperor had put down an uprising on February 26, 1937, and likewise admitted that the leaders who had been demoted at that time are now back in power. He was willing to admit that the *Okubo* and the *Tanaka* plans exert some influence on the present Japan program, and a "partial influence on the younger element."

He explained the meaning of the term "*Bushido*," the moral code of *Sumurai*. He stated that it is a military code and that it calls for frugal living, etc. He commented that he had never seen anyone who practiced *Bushido* very faithfully.

He claimed that part of his duties for the Japanese Government consisted in acting as a "liaison agent" (p. 2731). He declared that he did not represent the Japanese Government in the United States.

He caught the "last boat" back to the United States on October 30, 1941, the *Tatsu Tamaru*. He did not return to the United States to stay; "I expected to go back to Japan; I had no way of knowing about the war." He had made a trip to the United States in 1940, arriving in Los Angeles in May. He registered with the United States Department of State July 10, 1940, and returned to Japan on August 23, 1940. He claimed that he had not received pay from Japan while in the United States, "during the time I was registered as an agent" (p. 2734). He denied having received money from Japan for the period between May 1, 1940, and August 1, 1940. He claimed that he had received no pay whatsoever from Japan prior to the time he registered as an agent of the Japanese Government with the United States State Department (p. 2734), but later (p. 2735) stated: "I was in New York from about July 1st to about the 4th or 5th of August \* \* \* and they were paying my expenses; the men who were with the Consulate General there \* \* \*". He stated that while in New York he was advising the Japanese Consulate attaches "on what was happening back in Tokio." On being pressed for elaboration, he explained that he was merely relating the political gossip current in Japan.

He claimed that his translating work for the Japanese Government was confined to American newspapers and that the Japanese Government employed Englishmen to translate the newspapers of the British Empire.

He ate in the same restaurant in Tokio where the German diplomats took their meals and stated that he did this because it was the "only place to eat." He claimed that he could not travel in the same class with the diplomatic corps because of the smallness of his salary, 500 yen a month. Sometimes, he admitted, he received extra money. He explained that 500 yen in Tokio had the buying power of about \$450 in America. (Perkins testified at one point that his salary of 500 yen a month was sent to his home in South Pasadena, and at another point (p. 2737-8) he stated that he received it in Tokio.)

He stated that the Japanese were unable to understand the slang used in the American newspaper articles because their English teachers had been British or Canadian. He stated that his job in translating headings from American newspapers consisted largely in translating the meaning of American slang phrases for the Japanese. He said that the Japanese Government was only interested in articles which pertained to Japan "or references to American history." They were also interested in reports on relationship between Japan and the United States.

During his first four years in Japan, Perkins taught in the education department and served as an advisor to American companies in Japan, helping them secure "a correct sales approach." He also assisted with the writing of manuscripts on Japan.

He stated that he had been working for one faction of the Japanese Government and checking on whether or not other political factions were being set up against the others. He related the incidents of a

strike in the State Department in Japan in which the younger men were pitted against the older men. He claimed that it was this type of news that he carried to the Japanese Consulate in New York. He denied that he had carried documents of any nature to the United States.

He admitted that his fare to and from Japan had been paid by the Japanese Government and explained that this arrangement was made for all teachers who go to Japan.

While in New York he had conveyed "inside" information to the Japanese Consulate of the relations between Japan, Germany, Italy and Russia "at the time Germany shook hands with Russia." He stated that factions had grown up in Japan over the issue of collaboration with Soviet Russia. Oshima and Shiratori were "very much" pro-Axis. "The consul in New York was not, unfortunately," Perkins added. When pressed to explain what he meant by "unfortunately," he stated that it was meant for the man and not as opinion on his part (p. 2743). The Japanese acting-Consul in New York at the time of the bombing of Pearl Harbor was not pro-Axis, he explained.

He stated that he would have been interned had he remained in Japan.

He did not believe that the United States Government ought to take chances at this time, and stated that he believed that it would be better for the Japanese to be out of the coastal area, because some one might make trouble and "blame it on the Japanese"; they would be forced to "take the rap for it."

He had helped the American-born Japanese who were in Japan for educational purposes. He stated that many of them were homesick for America; missed Thanksgiving and Christmas celebrations. In this connection he declared that the training of American-born Japanese in Japan depended on the financial ability of the parents and claimed the Japanese Government did not finance *Nisei* training "They don't want the *Nisei* back there, especially the girls. Men, yes; they have use for men, but a girl, under the Japanese code gets married when she's 21 \* \* \* so they are a nuisance."

He admitted that he had contact with the Japanese Consul in Los Angeles since returning from Japan. He denied having made any report to the Consul and stated that he called on him merely because he knew his son in Japan.

## 6

### JAPANESE PROPAGANDA

Togo Tanaka is an American-born Japanese. (Volume X, pp. 2843-2889.) He was born in Portland, Oregon, and was brought to southern California when he was three months old and has resided in the City of Los Angeles since that time. He attended the Los Feliz Elementary School and the Thomas Starr King High School, the Hollywood High School and the University of Southern California, where he graduated in 1936. He majored in Political Science. He stated that he was *no* relation, as far as he knew, to Baron Tanaka, after whom the Japanese *Tanaka Memorial* is named.

Since graduating from the University of Southern California, Tanaka has been employed on the staff of the English section of *Rafu Shimpo*, a Japanese daily newspaper published in the City of Los Angeles. The newspaper was dual in character, containing both an English and a Japanese language section. He stated that these two sections were edited by different staffs. Tanaka was the editor of the English section. He became the English editor of *Rafu Shimpo* about six months after he had associated with the newspaper. The paper had its circulation principally in southern California among the Japanese, some State-wide circulation and a small circulation in Hawaii. Hiroshi Zuski was the managing editor of the Japanese language section of the *Rafu Shimpo*. The English editors had voice on the policy of the paper only in the English language section. He had never expressed himself in reference to the policy of the Japanese section. His knowledge of the Japanese language was very limited, according to his testimony.

He admitted that after Pearl Harbor he had come to realize that the Japanese section of *Rafu Shimpo* was subversive. He also admitted that many articles and much of the material printed in *Rafu Shimpo* had been sent from Japan and had appeared in the paper in its original form. The paper made considerable use of reprints because of its limited staff. He admitted, under examination, that much of this material was pro-Axis in flavor.

He stated that there were three Japanese daily newspapers in the City of Los Angeles before Pearl Harbor and contended that *Rafu Shimpo* was the oldest and the largest. He branded the other Japanese language newspapers as pro-Axis.

He had been the publicity manager of the *Japanese-American Citizens' League* and had handled publicity for this organization on the *Rafu Shimpo*. This was the largest *Nisei* organization in southern California and the most active. It was composed of 20 or 21 chapters. The organization had a Coordinating Committee known as the *United Citizens' Federation* which was composed of delegates from about 30 different organizations, including fruit-stand workers' unions, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A. and Buddhist groups.

He placed the average age of the *Nisei* at around 21 years and the average age of the *Issei* at 59 to 60.

He admitted that most of the existing Japanese organizations were dominated by the *Issei* because of their more mature years. He stated that as the *Issei* passed away and the *Nisei* came into adulthood they more and more were taking over the organizations and, because of this situation, the *Issei* influence was waning. The influence of the *Issei*, or alien older generation, it was explained, was partly due to the fact that the older Japanese held the purse-strings of the community. Because the Japanese *Nisei* showed great respect and reverence for *Issei* parents and obeyed them, they did not attempt to change the pro-Japan attitude of their parents.

He stated without equivocation that the 1940-41 Directory of *Rafu Shimpo*, published by the older generation group on the paper, was about nine-tenths subversive.

The older generation, or pro-Japan group, influenced the thinking of the younger *Nisei* generation on the matter of the Sino-Japanese war. This accounted for the *Nisei*'s activity in propagandizing the

Japanese cause against China. The *Issei* influence was very strong in this connection. The *Nisei* had been taught that the Japanese were embarking on a great missionary crusade in China and building a New Order in the Far East. He stated that the non-Japanese, Caucasian American propagandists who were hired by Japan, did the same sort of propagandizing and he named "Wiggle" Williams one of the hired propagandists for Japan. ("Wiggle" Williams was subsequently indicted for failing to register as a Japanese agent with the United States Department of State.) Tanaka believed that the *Nisei* had been drawn into this ideological position because of emotional ties and that the younger generation of American-born Japanese found it impossible to become objective in face of their parents' prejudice.

He stated that the agencies that had been set up by the Japanese Consulate on the West Coast had disseminated much of the pro-Japan propaganda in relation to the Sino-Japanese war. He admitted that funds had been collected in the Japanese and Japanese-American societies for the prosecution of the Japanese war in the Far East and that this drive had started back in 1937 at the outbreak of hostilities in China and had continued through 1940 when the feeling had grown tense between the United States and Japan. He admitted that *Rafu Shimpo* had aided and had advertised these collections for the Japanese war effort in China, but added that the *Rafu Shimpo* had also engaged in "very good American activities."

He declared that there was considerable reluctance on the part of the *Nisei* to admit subversive activities on the part of themselves or their parents, which was quite natural because of dual loyalties and partly because they were confused. He stated that they tried to "gloss over" these things.

He was familiar in a general way with the Japanese language schools in southern California. The *Rafu Shimpo Year Book* listed these schools in its issues. He believed that Shintoism is worship of the Japanese Emperor and stated that the Shintoists were rabid militarists and very imperialistic.

He claimed that he did not know the exact meaning of the term "Yamato Domoshi" but believed that it referred to the Japanese race and culture. He admitted that "one reads in the legends" about the three Japanese symbols, the mirror, the jewel and the sword. The fanatic teachings of the Japanese "under the military clique" demanded that the Japanese people believe that they were actually descended from the Sun Goddess. It was his opinion that the *Nisei* in the United States did not generally believe this fiction and he stated that pro-Japanese consider Japan their homeland and believe that it is their God-given mission to do something for her. It was his opinion that the American-born Japanese who were educated in the United States were not generally pro-Japan; that only about 3 or 4 per cent of the *Nisei* were in the pro-Japan column.

Because he believed that Shintoism is not a religion in the strictest sense of the term, but an ideology subversive and dangerous to the Government of the United States, he stated that Shintoism has no place in this Country.

Like most Americans born of alien parents, he believed the language schools contribute considerably to bridging the gap between the *Issei*

and the *Nisei* in that these schools give the children an understanding of their parents and the beliefs and language of their parents. He stated that he believed the American-born Japanese have benefited considerably from the Japanese language schools and that this education had helped many of them to secure jobs where knowledge of the Japanese language was essential. He ventured the opinion that these schools could be separated from subversive indoctrination. He suggested that such schools be brought under the supervision of boards of education. He was willing to admit that there had been, perhaps, "too much indoctrination going on" in the Japanese language schools in California. He admitted, under examination, that those persons who spoke and thought in Japanese, were the type who would be most apt to be loyal to Japan and Hirohito, while those who spoke and thought in English were more apt to be loyal to the American ideology and the United States.

He stated that the Japanese Consular offices in Los Angeles contacted Japanese-American students in the universities and schools for the purpose of obtaining personnel for Japanese Government work.

He claimed to know nothing of the rumor that the *Nisei* had received threats for their lack of cooperation with Japanese Consular agents. Generally, he stated, the *Nisei*, who have relatives living in Japan, avoid answering questions concerning subversive activities on the part of the Japanese in the United States. He knew of *Issei* who feared retaliation by the Japanese Government on relatives in Japan, but stated that this fear was greatly diminished by the growing fact of permanent Japanese residence in the United States. He said that there were very few Japanese in the United States who desired to return to Japan since 1924 when immigration from Japan was stopped. He stated that the ties between Japanese residing in the United States and relatives in Japan was not as close as the relationship between persons recently arrived from Europe and their relatives across the water.

He admitted that the majority of *Issei* are Japanese in their views and more or less thoroughly indoctrinated. He stated that this was not true in all cases. Many Japanese who came to the United States when they were very young, although counted as aliens, are American in their viewpoint. He ventured the hope that this group would receive special recognition.

Prior to December 7, 1941, the *Nisei* generally, regarded the *Japanese Imperial Veterans' Association* as "simply a society of old men." (The members of the *Imperial Veterans' Association* are Japanese who served in the Russo-Japanese war.) He admitted that, after the Federal Bureau of Investigation roundup of these veterans, that the *Nisei* learned that these members of the *Imperial Veterans' Association* had been doing more than getting together for the purpose of drinking saki. He admitted that the meetings of the *Imperial Veterans' Association* had been the centers of Japanese subversive activities in California.

He had heard "everything" concerning the activities of the Japanese fishing fleet off of California. He stated that the truth was "somewhere in between" the two extremes that had been brought to his attention; that not all of the fishing boats harbored spies, but that undoubtedly, some of them were engaged in this practice. He had heard of the Japanese fishing boats hoisting Japanese Flags when out

to sea and he had heard of the "fishermen" taking soundings and photographs. He had no personal knowledge of any of these things.

He stated that many of the volunteer evacuees to Manzanar were entering into the situation in a spirit of adventure. He stated that some were bitter about it and that others were "taking it with a shrug." He felt that Manzanar should not be referred to as a "concentration camp."

Questioned regarding the *Rafu Shimpo Directory* for 1940-41, he admitted that the picture plates in the book showed Shinto priests, Shinto altars, pictures of the Emperor and Empress and other pictures, illustrating the pro-Japan leanings of the book. He stated that "we have always ripped" the pages containing the pictures of the Japanese Emperor and Empress out of the directory because the *Nisei* felt that it had no place in an American book. He identified a Japanese character on a page at the beginning of the book and explained that it meant "*Khakko Ichiu*" and, translated, it signified the Japanese "*New Order*" in the Far East. He stated that this was another page that was ripped out by the *Nisei* before the book was passed out. Characters appearing beside the names of certain Japanese listed in the directory, according to Tanaka's testimony, referred to the individual's "Ken," or Japanese "clan" or "state." It indicated where the roots of the family of the individual were.

He admitted that the directory had always been printed in Japan and stated that this was because the rates for printing were cheaper, even when the cost of transportation was included. It was distributed free of charge to advertisers and subscribers to *Rafu Shimpo* and used as a circulation builder. It listed everyone of Japanese descent of whom information could be obtained.

He explained that an illustration showing a map of the Pacific with secret American battleship information was an illustration to a story in a Japanese magazine, "King" (Ken); that it was pro-Axis and was the work of pro-Axis authors. He stated that this was typical of all magazines which came over from Japan. Japanese editorial writers on the *Rafu Shimpo* had to overcome and work against such material coming out of Japan.

The editorial policy of the *Rafu Shimpo* after December 7, 1941, was in support of the United States against Japan. Tanaka filed a number of copies of the issues of the *Rafu Shimpo* with the Committee in proof of this assertion.

He contended that community hysteria constituted a serious problem for the loyal *Nisei*. He hoped that the Americans could help the situation by attempting to secure a balanced picture of *Nisei* activities.

He admitted that *Rafu Shimpo* had maintained a Tokio Bureau for news and business arrangements. Around 10,000 copies of the directory had been printed and most of them had been distributed in southern California. A few were left in Japan and the State Departments of Japan and the United States had received copies.

Tanaka concluded his testimony by stating that he believed that many of the Japanese, and especially the younger Japanese-Americans, had been merely "misdirected" in their so-called subversive activities. He begged the Americans to give the Japanese and the Japanese-Americans credit for the things they had done in developing and furthering community interest and welfare.

**JAPANESE SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS**

Dr. John Lechner testified that as late as April 15, 1941, the Japanese *Niseis* in the Los Angeles area were challenged to indicate their loyalty to the United States Government by conducting a house-cleaning of subversive elements within the Japanese colony and cooperating with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in routing subversive individuals and groups. To this end, Dr. Lechner stated, a conference was held at a Japanese restaurant in Los Angeles and plans were laid for a mass demonstration on May 10, 1941. He stated that more than 1,000 *Nisei* gathered at the Hollywood Legion Club House in Los Angeles where the meeting was held. He stated that both Fred Tayama and Togo Tanaka, the most active leaders among the local *Nisei*, ignored the challenge for cooperation against un-American activities existing in the Japanese colony. Both Tayama and Tanaka vehemently denied the existence of subversive groups and individuals among the Japanese and Tayama angrily refused to organize any effort for cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Nothing was done to indicate that these American leaders of Japanese ancestry were disposed to cooperate in counteracting Japanese espionage in California. Dr. Lechner listed the Japanese representatives who attended the April 15th meeting as Bob Sato, Executive Secretary of the *Japanese Retail Clerks' Union*, A. F. of L., Robbin Keneko, President, *Junior Produce Union*, Fred Tayama, President, Los Angeles Chapter *Japanese-American Citizens' League*, Shigemi Aratania, Vice President, Los Angeles Chapter, *Japanese-American Citizens' League*, Togo Tanaka, Editor, English section, *Rafu Shimpo*, H. Hori, President, *Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry*, S. Nagata, Vice President, *Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry*, and Ted Akahoshi, Executive Secretary, *Japanese Produce Merchants' Association*. Shuji Fuji, a Communist, writing in the September 1, 1941 issue of the *Doho Sha*, Japanese publication in Los Angeles, urged "immediate action to rout out by public denunciation, every sign of organization, activity, policy and propaganda that inclines to promote the pro-Nazi element in Japan among us, such as the *Japanese Military Service Men's League*." Shuji Fuji branded the *Japanese Military Service Men's League* as a dangerous fifth column structure among the local Japanese.

The *Japanese Military Service Men's League* is reported to be the work of Tadaaiki Ilzuka.

The *Imperial Comradeship Society* is allegedly the American arm of the *Imperial Black Dragon Society*, the most powerful and most feared secret organization in the Japanese Empire. The *Imperial Black Dragon Society* is said to have been organized over 50 years ago for the purpose of eradicating Occidental influence in the Far East. The Dragon leaders have fostered an intensified and deep hatred for the British and the Americans. Tadaaiki Ilzuka reorganized and strengthened the *Imperial Comradeship Society* and Dr. Lechner estimated its strength at the end of 1941 as 4,800. The ostensible leadership of the society was in the hands of Sakugaro Kubota, a retired

Japanese officer, whose son, stated Dr. Lechner, is Takaki Kubota, an American-born citizen and an active leader in the "patriotic" *Japanese-American Citizens' League* of Los Angeles. The *Imperial Comradeship Society* and the *Japanese Military Service Men's League*, stated Dr. Lechner, had 74 branches in 65 localities and exerted a powerful influence on the entire Japanese-American population on behalf of Japan.

The *Japanese-American Citizens' League* under the leadership of Takaki Kubota collaborated with the *Imperial Comradeship Society* and the *Japanese Military Service Men's League* in a campaign to sell Japanese war bonds on the Pacific Coast. The Japanese Minister of Finance, Seinen Ikeda, requested the *Japanese-American Citizens' League* to raise 1,000,000 yen to be deposited in the *Yokohama Specie Bank* in San Francisco.

Representatives of the committee, in preparing for public hearings on Japanese activities, inspected maps of the interior valleys of the State, whereon were depicted with the greatest fidelity highways, country lanes, bridges, police, fire and radio stations, hospitals, airports, and the detailed topography of the area. These representatives obtained considerable evidence of Japanese "Vegetable" Associations spotted throughout the agricultural regions of California soliciting funds from their members for the purchase of Japanese war bonds from the Japanese Consulate in San Francisco.

The committee's representatives also inspected photographs of the San Pedro fishing boats far out at sea, flying the Japanese flag. Japanese-Americans told committee representatives that Americans should no longer laugh at the industrious little Jap fishermen because they were "foolishly" taking soundings along the coast when they could easily buy Geodetic Survey maps which contained the information that they apparently desired. The Japanese fishermen knew that. What they were actually doing was finding whether or not the ocean floor at designated localities was soft and level and sandy, or whether it was rough and rocky to such an extent that it might injure the belly of a submarine, such as the one which lobbed its shells off the coast of Santa Barbara at American oil installations.

Dr. Yu-Shan Han, Chinese lecturer and educator, stated that the Japanese *Black Dragon Society* is both a military and "underhanded" organization. (Volume IX, pp. 2692-2715.) He stated that the members of the organization perpetrated vengeance on the enemies of Japanese plans in China. The *Black Dragon Society* indulges in sabotage, blackmail and assassination.

He testified concerning Japanese Fifth Column activities in China. He related incidents of sabotage and espionage in China by the Japanese. He told of Japanese disguised as *Buddhist* priests who measured the distances in the interior of China for future marches of the Japanese armies. He stated that agents of Hirohito tabulated the metals in the Chinese temples and other places for future Japanese confiscation.

Dr. Han related instances of *Black Dragon* kidnappings and *Black Dragon* terror in China. He said that the *Society* maintains an extremely efficient espionage system in China. The members of the *Society* had detected his return to China and had been bold enough to publish the fact in the newspapers. Dr. Han smiled and said that he

"beat it." He stated that the *Black Dragon Society* sows seeds of discord and is efficient in disseminating sugar-coated propaganda. He stated that the Japanese are highly trained in sabotage and expressed the opinion that it would be very foolish for the people of the United States to trust any of them during this time, whether they were born in the United States or not.

Japan had been an admirer of Germany for a considerable length of time and this admiration has been manifested by the Japanese in China. All German Nationals had been treated well in the Far East by the Japanese. He stated that the Japanese do not feel friendly to the Americans in the Orient. It was his opinion that the German Nazis have been putting pressure on the Japanese in China to compel them to follow policies beneficial to Germany's war aims.

He declared that the Japanese troops had been very brutal to Chinese captives and that they had been particularly vicious and cruel in torturing Chinese women. Chinese books were destroyed and the Japanese invaders took whatever caught their fancy in occupied territories. He had watched the Japanese load the property of civilians into steam launches on Soochow Creek across from the university where he had taught. He saw a Japanese Colonel take a valuable painting at the point of a gun in Hanchow.

Although he believed the Japanese people had been suffering severely because of heavy war expenditures over the past several years, that, because of their training, they would not complain. The Chinese people will resist to the very end, Dr. Han declared, because they were convinced that life would not be worth living if they were conquered by the Japanese.

P. D. Perkins was teaching the Japanese language at the University of Southern California when he testified February 24, 1942. (Volume IX, pp. 2716-2747.) He stated that he had taken the place of a Japanese on leave in the Department of Asiatic Studies under Dr. Chaening. Perkins was born in Windsor, Vermont. He had resided in Japan since 1935 and had taught English in a school in Kyoto, Japan, from 1935 to 1939. In 1939 he went to Tokio as a "*Shokutabu*," or a "specialist." He stated that he visited in the United States in 1940 and returned again to Tokio and remained there until October 30, 1941 when he returned to the United States. He established residence and a bookstore in South Pasadena in 1940 and his wife remained there to sell books which were sent from Japan. He was acquainted with Ralph Townsend and a Mr. Williams, both of whom were convicted as agents of Japan, because, stated Perkins, "they were in the United States and I was in Japan." (p. 2718.)

On July 10, 1940, Perkins registered with the United States Department of State as an agent of the Japanese Government. He claimed that he had been released from this registration on January 9, 1942. He registered, he claimed, because he had been notified by the State Department that it would be necessary for him to do so. He had listed himself as a "public relations" counsel for the Japanese Consulate in New York. He stated that his duties were "a little bit technical," and explained that they were actually "not duties," but financial arrangements with the Japanese Government. He contended that the Japanese Government refused to allow any foreigner to send more than

100 yen out of Japan and that this amount was not sufficient for the living expenses of his family in the United States. One hundred yen, he explained, amounted to about \$23.50 in American money.

After the *Matsuoka Ministry* came into power in Japan, Perkins stated, pro-American friends asked him to resign from his position there. "Friends and former students" arranged for him to transfer out of the State Department in Tokio so that he would be "beyond their control," and thus enabled him to get funds out of Japan. Perkins had registered with the United States Department of State as "Public Relations Advisor for the Japanese Consulate" and this also was his title in the Personnel Office in Tokio.

Being closely examined in reference to his duties, Perkins explained that about 90 per cent of his work consisted in translating American newspaper headlines and by-lines into the Japanese language or "the Japanese equivalent." These translations, he admitted, were then turned over to the Japanese *State Department* in Tokio. It is to be noted that Perkins did not turn the translations over to the department for which he was supposed to be working, the Japanese Consulate. His salary for this work from 1930 until 1940 amounted to 500 yen a month.

He stated that he "thought very highly of Yoshida Kuno," now deceased. Yoshida Kuno once taught the Japanese language and culture at the University of California at Berkeley and also at Stanford University. Perkins stated that he had taken courses under Kuno at Stanford.

He had a "very general" knowledge of the *Okubo Decade System*. He stated that the Okubo family was "one of the main families" of Japan and that the *Okubo* program was a plan for the expansion of Japan as a world power. He also was familiar with the *Tanaka Memorial* in a general way.

He claimed that the literature sold in his bookstore in South Pasadena was neither pro- nor anti-Japanese and described it as consisting merely of "language books" used in the university and in the Army and Navy Academy. He emphatically stated that these books did not contain propaganda and that the books he had given away were "only review copies." He admitted that he had once distributed a book comprised of the addresses on the Sino-Japanese conflict given in America by Yakachuro Suma, a Japanese. He admitted that Suma was the *Director of the Information Bureau of the Foreign Office in Japan* and that he had formerly been attached to the Embassy in Washington. "He was my superior, after Mr. Obai." (p. 2723.) He had brought the book of addresses with him from Japan. (The Director of the Information Bureau of the Foreign Office of Japan is similar to the German Propaganda position held by Dr. Goebbels in the Nazi Ministry of Education and Enlightenment.) Under further questioning Perkins admitted that Yakachuro Suma had published the book in question for him. He had "less than 50" of the books on hand at the time of testifying and stated that he had received "either \$2 or \$2.50 apiece for them." (p. 2724.) Perkins offered in evidence the Customs slip listing the books he had brought with him from Japan. He stated that he had also submitted this list to the United States Consular Office in Tokio.

Joseph Shinoda, a wholesale florist, testified that he was born in Oakland and lived in Southern California for about 20 years. (Volume X, pp. 3120-3126.)

He stated that he had known George Knox Roth for about a month and a half at the time of testifying. He denied that he had contributed money to Roth though he admitted having offered to "help him on some other expenses, but he refused." These "expenses" were explained as expenses that would necessarily arise out of trying to "help us"—the Japanese-American citizens. "We felt, \* \* \* we had something to contribute and we didn't think the things that were being thrust upon us were to our best interests \* \* \*." He stated that the offer of assistance to George Knox Roth was made at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles. He had become acquainted with Roth while he (Shinoda) was "temporarily in the produce business" at the Seventh Street Terminal. Roth came there and he had seen him several times in Little Tokio.

Tokie Slocum is a Japanese member of the *American Legion*. (Volume X, pp. 3038-3048.) He had been active for several weeks before testifying in assisting Federal and State investigating groups concerned with the Japanese problem. He admitted having known George Knox Roth for about two months.

He was chairman of the *Anti-Axis Committee*, succeeding to the chairmanship after Fred Tayama had vacated it. He stated that the *Issei* looked upon the *Anti-Axis Committee* as a "policing group." A lack of discipline existed in the committee and there was much dissension and he believed that the disruption was possibly due to pressure from the *Issei*. (Alien Japanese.) He was also the chairman of the Intelligence Unit of the *Anti-Axis Committee*. The membership of this group was drawn from various organizations and was representative of the Japanese community. He claimed that the *Anti-Axis Committee* had investigated the Japanese language schools and that the committee had clamped down on them when the schools tried to reopen. He had heard of large sums of money being collected through the Japanese vegetable associations for Japan and that the money was reported being sent to Japan through the Japanese Consuls to help the war effort of Nippon. He branded the *Japanese Veterans' Association* as a pro-Japanese patriotic organization. He stated that there were a large number of alien vegetable growers in Southern California and because of the money they had invested in their ventures, it would necessarily be expeditious for them to attempt to prevent evacuation.

Joe Shinoda had invited George Knox Roth to appear before the *Anti-Axis Committee* and Slocum had seen Roth a half a dozen times since then. It was possible, he believed, that Shinoda had given Roth money for his radio broadcasts. He stated that Shinoda owned the *San Lorenz Nursery* which is the largest Japanese nursery in Southern California. He had overheard Shinoda tell Roth that he (Shinoda) would underwrite something. This conversation took place in the Biltmore Hotel.

Tokie Slocum denied having given George Knox Roth money in Simon's Restaurant as had been alleged.

He stated that he was a naturalized citizen of the United States by a special Act of Congress in honor of his services in World War I. He served in France with Sergeant York.

He declared that he had been "sandwiched in between two political feuds" and felt that city councilman Roy Hampton had been careless in his statements. He emphatically denied that he had been a "go-between" giving money to Roth raised by the Japanese.

City Councilman Edward L. Thrasher stated that shortly after the declaration of war, 39 or 40 Japanese employees under Los Angeles city civil service were informed that they would be forced to retire. (Volume X, pp. 3126-3129.) He stated that George Knox Roth appeared before the Civil Service Commission of the City of Los Angeles and demanded of the Commission that the Japanese be retained in their jobs. Councilman Thrasher placed the date of Roth's appearance before the Commission as around March 1, 1942.

Thrasher was later informed by a representative of the Mayor's office that Roth had appeared before the Mayor and had insisted that the Japs be kept on the pay roll.

Thrasher later observed a number of Japanese congregating in Councilman Norris E. Nelson's office in the City Hall. He learned that Roth was appearing in Nelson's office with the Japanese, attempting to induce Nelson to intercede for them to retain them on the city pay roll. According to Thrasher, Roth offered Nelson large insurance contracts from the Japanese if Nelson would intercede in their behalf. Thrasher testified that he received this information from one of the Japanese who had attended the meeting in Councilman Nelson's office. He concluded his testimony by stating that Councilman Norris E. Nelson was in the insurance business.

George Knox Roth first testified October 15, 1941. (Volume III, pp. 845-861.) He had been subpoenaed in connection with the testimony of Tom Kirk regarding alleged wire-tapping activities in connection with Los Angeles city politics and elections. At that time, Knox testified, he had been working as a stenographer in the Department of Agriculture for the State of California and that this employment had ceased about a week before his appearance before the committee. He had been connected with the Clifford E. Clinton organization up to January 1, 1940. He offered the committee a book entitled *Los Angeles County Government; Departmental Services, 1934*, and read portions from it by Dr. Samuel C. May from the University of California outlining Dr. May's political philosophy.

After Pearl Harbor, Roth started a series of radio broadcasts over Radio Station KMTR in Los Angeles. The theme of these broadcasts, generally, opposed the evacuation of the Japanese from California's coastal area. The broadcasts were alleged to be under the auspices of the *Public Affairs Committee of Los Angeles*. The committee's representatives obtained transcriptions of Roth's broadcasts and he was subpoenaed March 24, 1942, for examination concerning them. (Volume X, pp. 2908-2932; 2966; 2973-2987.)

He stated that he was the secretary of the *Public Affairs Committee of Los Angeles*. He was extremely vague and evasive as to just what the *Public Affairs Committee of Los Angeles* was, who its organizers were, the identity of its members and when it came into being. He

stated that "Late in 1940 a group of former college friends \* \* \* felt that something ought to be done \* \* \* to improve conditions in local affairs." Acting on this "feeling" of his friends, Roth stated that he mailed out about 200 letters addressed to persons whom he knew to be interested in municipal and county affairs, and thus a *Public Affairs Committee* was "organized." It apparently had no constitution, by-laws or regulations and did not have a president, a board of directors or officers other than Roth himself. He stated that the organization met from time to time with "different ones." He claimed that he had held these meetings "for the past three months"; the last one having been held two weeks previous. He stated that the policies of the organization were the policies of the persons who contributed funds to it.

He stated that he was born in Denver, Colorado, and had resided there until 1920 when he came to Los Angeles. He did special research work under Samuel May at the University of California and attended Claremont College and the University of Southern California, where he graduated with a Masters' Degree in June of 1934. He stated that he became interested in politics about that time and had worked in Upton Sinclair's *Epic* campaign. Later he was engaged in the *Unemployed Cooperatives*. He stated that he headed the Department of Rehabilitation under the Los Angeles County board of supervisors and functioned in this capacity until June 1, 1936, when it was abandoned.

He became an investigator for Clifford E. Clinton in October of 1938 and continued in this position until March of 1939. He was again employed in this capacity in June of 1939 and continued until January of 1940. He then served with the *Citizens' Independent Vice Investigating Committee* (CIVIC). Later he was employed in the State Department of Agriculture as a stenographer and severed his connection with this department on February 28, 1942. He stated that his actual duties with the Department of Agriculture were those of a "bench chemist." He claimed that it was his job to analyze the "sprays." He was not allowed to go to those places where vegetables were displayed except when picking up samples offered by commission merchants. He stated that Japanese aliens and citizens came to his laboratory "in response to a summons" or "came in for information which was given by the chief chemist."

He claimed that the administrative assistant of the State Department of Agriculture, Mr. Cramer, had notified the *Tolan Investigating Committee* (investigating the Japanese situation in California) that he had not been employed in the State Department of Agriculture since February 28, 1942, and that this accounted for the discrepancy in his testimony before the Tolan Committee. He explained this by stating that a vacation period had been extended to him from February 28 to March 8, 1942. He added, "I didn't realize I was severed from the pay roll."

He admitted that his radio broadcasts discussed the effect of the evacuation of the Japanese from southern California. The first broadcast in the name of the *Public Affairs Committee* was on the evening of February 28 or March 1, 1942. He broadcast six times a week following the first broadcast, from 7.15 to 7.30 p.m. over Radio Station KMTR. He contended that he did not have a list of the names of the members of the *Public Affairs Committee* but stated that there were some 25 people

on the committee. It was these people, Roth explained, who contributed the money to him out of which he paid for the broadcasts. The members of the *Public Affairs Committee* did not have membership cards and the organization did not maintain a bank account in the name of the committee. He stated that he did not keep books but estimated that he had received \$625 or \$635 altogether.

He admitted having stated over the radio that he hoped the Army would listen to reason and that the Japanese citizen-farmers would be permitted to remain in the coastal areas to produce vegetables. He stated that he had given statistics to indicate how vegetable production in California would suffer if the Japanese were evacuated and estimated that \$60,000,000 worth of produce would not be produced if the Japanese were sent away. He stated that this figure was based on statistics given to the Tolan Committee and predicted on public records. He contended that Caucasians are unable to produce vegetables as efficiently or as inexpensively as the Japanese. He stated that his radio broadcasts pertained to Los Angeles County conditions. (Transcriptions of his broadcasts indicated strong pro-Japanese feeling and contained such allegations as "the Japanese have been and are our friends," etc.)

He denied the allegations of Los Angeles city councilman Roy Hampton that he had received money from a Japanese in Simon's Restaurant in downtown Los Angeles on March 11th or 12th of 1942.

Under close questioning he finally admitted he had received some money from persons of Japanese descent for his *Public Affairs Committee* broadcasts and finally estimated that the amount was "something like \$510." He said that the money had been given to him by close personal friends and he refused to name these persons. He first contended that the Federal Bureau of Investigation would object if he gave the committee the names of the Japanese who had contributed funds to him for the broadcasts. He was excused while the chairman of the committee telephoned the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The bureau not only denied Roth's statement but sent two representatives to the Assembly Chambers in the State Building where the hearing was being held. Roth conferred with them in the corridor of the building and was told that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had no objection to him testifying. He was recalled to the stand and the questions were put in many ways and he still refused to name the Japanese. Charges were preferred against Roth and he was tried and convicted for violation of Penal Code Section 87 in the Municipal Court of Los Angeles.

Fred Masaru Tayama was a former restaurant operator, insurance broker and, at the time of testifying, an evacuee at Manzanar. (Volume X, pp. 2961-2965—2968-2972—2988-2990.) He was born in Honolulu and had received a Bachelor of Science degree in electrical engineering from the *A. R. Muir Institute of Technology* of Chicago. He stated that he had resided in southern California since 1929.

He was familiar with the *Japanese-American Citizens' League* with headquarters located at 2031 Bush Street in the City of San Francisco. He stated that there were 66 chapters and approximately 20,000 members with about 7,000 of them in southern California. He stated that to be eligible for membership in this organization, the applicant must be an American citizen of Japanese parentage, 18 years of age

or over. He stated that the organization checked up on the birth certificates of applicants for membership and that applicants were compelled to sign an oath of the truth of the statements contained in their application. He stated that he was, at the time of testifying, the chairman of the Southern California District Council of the *Japanese-American Citizens' League* and that he had held this position since September of 1941. He stated that the chairman heads 20 chapters in the Southern District Council, which covers San Luis Obispo south with one chapter in Phoenix, Arizona.

After December 7, 1941, the *Japanese-American Citizens' League* had created an *Anti-Axis Committee*. It had been formed voluntarily and Tayama had called the *Nisei* leaders together in Los Angeles immediately upon receipt of the news of the attack on Pearl Harbor. He stated that by 5 p.m. on the day of December 7, 1941, the *Anti-Axis Committee* had been organized in the office of the *Rafu Shimpo*. An Intelligence Unit was set up in the *Anti-Axis Committee* to assist Federal officials with problems pertaining to Japanese-Americans and aliens and to report on subversive activities.

He was also a member of the Japanese Y. M. C. A. and served on its Board of Directors. He was a member of the Japanese Union Church (Christian). In support of his contention that he had been expatriated from Japanese dual citizenship, he offered the committee a letter from the Japanese Consul General in San Francisco dated December 10, 1925, confirming his expatriation. He stated that he had been advised in 1923 that he must apply to the Japanese Consul General for military extension or exemption and learned, at that time, that he was considered a citizen of Japan and subject to military duty. He investigated and learned the details and found that he had been registered by relatives in Japan. With this knowledge he took steps to expatriate himself.

He contended that he had been "too busy with other affairs" to learn of subversive activities on the part of the Japanese-Americans in Los Angeles prior to December 7, 1941.

He placed the average age of the *Nisei* at around 19½ or 20 years. Because they were mostly minors, he stated that, therefore, they do not control the business organizations of the Japanese and do not have much influence. He believed that the *Issei* had endeavored at all times to maintain the traditions of Japan in the United States. It was his opinion that if the war had been deferred for five or six years until the *Niseis* would have had an opportunity to have taken over the Japanese organizations and the operation of the businesses; had become heads of families, etc., the situation would have been far different from what it was at the time of testifying. He stated that the *Issei* expected to be placed in detention camps in the event of war with Japan and said that the *Nisei* were willing to go.

He had heard of the *Black Dragon Society* as an organization headed by an elderly man, Mitsuru Toyama, who lived in Japan.

He presented the committee with a copy of a radiogram purported to have originated in Honolulu and signed by the *Chamber of Commerce* there, denying rumors of Japanese Fifth Column activities in Honolulu on December 7, 1941.

He believed that the majority of the *Issei* are loyal to Japan and that the majority of the *Nisei* are loyal to the United States. He believed that this was because the *Issei* had been refused United States citizenship, and felt that if they had been permitted to become citizens, they might have been loyal.

He had known Tomo Kasurui, Consul of Japan who had been located in Los Angeles. He stated that Kasurui was the spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Office in Japan, at the time of Tayama's testifying. He stated that Kasurui had confided to him in 1935 that there was apt to be a conflict between the United States and Japan.

## 8

## ACTIVITIES OF JAPANESE EVACUEES

Dr. John Lechner stated that a tremendous movement is on foot to soften up the American people in reference to the Japanese in the relocation centers. He stated that the Japanese in the centers are taking advantage of this situation. (Volume XVI, pp. 3933-3980.) In this connection he offered the committee a sheaf of notes that were made by a Japanese-American at one of the camps. He stated that the notes were in the Japanese-American's own handwriting. He explained that the Government had decreed that Japanese-American citizens and other Japanese in the evacuation centers were not permitted to listen to radio broadcasts, but that the Government had given permission to small groups to act as committees to listen to radio news broadcasts of the day and then, in turn, to rebroadcast over a camp radio-broadcasting system, the news as compiled by the Japanese committee for the benefit of the evacuees. These broadcasts, of course, were in the Japanese language. He stated that the notes taken by his Japanese informant are significant in that they prove that all of the information rebroadcast to the Japanese evacuees was pro-Jap. The Japanese losses were never rebroadcast. The following translations from some of the broadcasts are typical:

“France might as well fly the swastika.”

“Tokio is waiting for a complete collapse of the Soviet.”

“When the Japanese attack Siberia it will be sudden and decisive.”

“Japanese Russian propaganda is very active against the Communists and the Communist United States.”

“When Russia is beaten she will become like China.”

“Britain, after losing Singapore and Hong Kong, can not expect to get them back in British hands again.”

“Why should India remain under British rule to make India a British sphere which will eventually turn India into future British frontier?”

“Unless Britain can influence Jinnah and Nehru against Gandhi's idea, which is too late, Britain can not turn India's tide to British satisfaction.”

“Big, important meeting in Moscow is another development of Allies' discord.”

"Nazi blitz speed is astonishing."

"All of the Pacific will be blacked out and Japanese may attack the Pacific Coast with submarines."

"Japanese air force is wiping out the United States-Chinese air force."

"Japanese activities in Australia are on the increase. The Australians say the air strength is not sufficient to check the Japanese assault."

"Japanese planes attack Queensland for the first time."

"Four Japanese planes bomb Tourinville. Japanese also bomb Darwin. Japanese threat via Buna also serious."

"One-twentieth of the United States population is in Australia. Japanese secretly landed in Australia a month ago when Japanese landed in New Guinea. Japanese again landed at Buna. Allies have not checked their threat. New United States plane, Mustang, 1,400 horsepower, may out-do Japanese Zero. Burma Japanese may invade in China or India."

All of these excerpts are from the rebroadcast of August 5, 1942. On August 4, 1942 similar broadcasts were made. The following are typical:

"Japanese destroy 55,000 tons of Allied shipping in last week. Japanese sent more reinforcements. Allies advancing Buna-Gona area. Japanese submarine sinks British ship. Another large naval engagement coming. British attack Burma force and lose."

"Big quake in north of New Zealand. Japanese cruiser was bombed for second time, but Japanese established an air field in Cocoda. Gandhi says: 'Unless Allies give complete independence India may welcome Japs.' The Japanese at Burma are preparing to start fresh movement into India. Next Friday is the deadline for India's independence. Two hundred and nineteen Japanese planes attack United States air base."

Dr. Lechner stated that no censorship whatever is exercised on the part of the War Relocation authorities.

On July 28, 1942:

"Japanese landed in Australia in submarines. In New Guinea Japanese set up at Cocoda, 50 miles from Moresby. Japanese attack Darwin and Tourinville. In New Guinea the Japanese are advancing by bicycle troops."

On July 27, 1942:

"Allies attack Buna. More Japanese landed at Buna; more at Gona, 160 miles north of Buna. Japanese attack British force near Moresby. Tojo said: 'Japan holds the initiative in the Western Aleutians; Japan will go the limit to crush the United States and Britain.' "

On the same date the Japanese announcer stated:

"United States is losing this war because they can not fill orders for spare parts. Nazis using transport planes. United States is trying to convert bombers into cargo planes. C. I. O. Auto Workers' Union demands double pay for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. During the first six months of the war 4,000 seamen's lives were lost. India's situation is more critical. Gandhi demands negotiation with British to grant India complete and immediate independence or India will become turmoil of trouble. Our (United States) June production is behind schedule. Gandhi says: 'Britain is India's friend. India neither sides with nor rejects the United States or the Axis countries. India asks the United States, China and Stalin to induce Britain to accept India's independence plea, but no one acts.' Gandhi has political power but not military power—naturally India relies on Japanese aid. Britain today ordered all essential commodity dealers closed. What next?'"

On July 21, 1942:

"Japanese attack Fort Moresby with 41 planes. 'Don't neglect Australia for Japanese pilots are darn good and are a good match for United States fliers.'"

Under date of July 19, 1942:

"Japanese carried out their plans. India will become yoke of Japan after this Friday."

On August 7, 1942:

"Only 1 per cent of United States production, or three days production in Australia. How can Australia stop the Japanese? United States is losing this war unless it can produce more war material, and the United States can make this a total war. Only a trickle of supplies come into Australia. Japanese are undoubtedly occupying many important coastal regions on the continent of Australia. We are beaten in India, Turkey and losing in Siberia and Australia. If Russia gives in the United States must lose China and Australian interests. There may be a negotiated peace."

Dr. Lechner testified that it was his opinion that the United States Government is making a big mistake in the civilian administration of the Japanese relocation centers. He stated emphatically that he agreed with the *American Legion* that the administration of the camps should be under the supervision of the Army and not in civilian hands. He told of a Mr. Myers, who had had no experience before his association with the War Relocation Board or Authority, and who knew nothing of the Japanese, being sent to the West Coast as an expert in charge of the Japanese relocation centers. He stated that Mr. Myers

had delivered an address on the Fourth of July, 1942, in which he apologized to the 12,000 Japanese at Manzanar for the big mistake that the United States Government had made in evacuating them in the first place. Dr. Lechner rendered the opinion that every able-bodied Japanese male should be put to work in agricultural centers under strict Army control.

He related incidents occurring at Manzanar in which groups of 10, 12 and 15 Japanese were allowed to travel through Inyo County in trucks without any restriction whatsoever.

He related an incident which occurred at Camp Lordsburg, New Mexico. He stated that a number of Japanese prisoners captured during the Solomon Islands campaign were brought to the relocation center at Lordsburg and interned there with the Japanese evacuees. He stated the civilian administration of the camp permitted the Japanese prisoners to mingle and talk with the evacuees in the Japanese language. On October 29, 1942, Camp Bulletin Number 56 was issued in mimeographed form by the evacuees. It was in the Japanese language. The bulletin described the number of Japanese prisoners who had been brought into the camp a day or two before and gave minute details as to where they had come from and named the boat that brought them to the United States; information, Dr. Lechner contended, withheld from our own metropolitan newspapers. He stated that the Japanese prisoners from the Solomon Islands painted an encouraging picture of Japanese victories for the Japanese-Americans in the camp, and as a result, the camp was "all fired up." The following morning saw a big demonstration staged by both the Japanese-American evacuees and the Japanese prisoners. He stated that there were several thousand Japanese participating in the demonstration, marching up and down through the camp, singing and having a "great time." A loyal Japanese, placed in the camp by the Federal Government, and whose name was withheld, reported that two or three officials in charge of the camp felt quite happy concerning the demonstration. One of them said: "Our policy for the relocation board is pretty good; we are giving them all the leeway possible; look how happy they are!" The Japanese informant turned to the official and said: "Do you know what they are singing?" The official answered, "It doesn't make any difference. They are happy." The Japanese informant then told the official that "They are singing the *Japanese National Anthem*." The official became alarmed and said, "They can't do that here!" The Japanese informant then stated: "If you will look at the flag-pole you will see what they can do!" The official looked at the flag-pole and saw a home-made Japanese Flag flying from it. During the night the Japanese had run up the Japanese Flag. Dr. Lechner stated that his report revealed that it took the threat of Army machine-guns to enable a man to take down the Japanese Flag.

Dr. John Lechner testified that on August 8, 1942, nearly 500 *Kebei*, *Issei* and *Nisei* gathered in Mess Hall 15, at Manzanar, under the chairmanship of Ben Kishi. (Volume XVI, pp. 3933-3980.) The meeting, Dr. Lechner stated, was conducted in the Japanese language by the consent of the center administration and was purportedly called for the purpose of discussing living conditions. He stated that the meeting developed into a bitter denunciation of Manzanar policy. He stated

that one of the scheduled speakers, Kujohi Hashimoto, calling himself a *Kibei-Nisei*, hinted that he dared not say how the *Kibei-Nisei* felt regarding this country. Joe Kurihara, born in Hawaii, sprang to his feet and demanded the floor. Kurihara is reported to have said:

“I have never been in Japan, but in my veins flows Japanese blood; the blood of *Yamato domashii*. We citizens have been denied our citizenship rights; we have no United States citizenship; we are 100 per cent Japanese.”

Dr. Lechner stated that a roaring applause and stamping of feet echoed this declaration on the part of Joe Kurihara. When Carl Yoneda, another scheduled speaker and the chairman of the War Participation Committee, attempted to speak on the need for cooperation with the Government of the United States in winning the war, Dr. Lechner stated that he was “booed” and “jeered,” so that only a portion of his speech could be heard. Masajo Tanaka spoke next, and said:

“I am a *Kibei-Nisei*, but the *Kibei-Niseis* are not American; they are Japanese. (Loud applause.) *The Kibeis are not loyal to the United States* and they might as well know about it! But the *Kibeis* should use their citizenship rights for their own benefit. I can not understand why there are a few *Nisei* who still talk about their citizenship rights, and about American democracy.”

Dr. Lechner stated that, realizing the temper of the meeting would be revealed to the authorities at Manzanar and that such meetings in the future might be banned, some of the *Issei* were heard to remark that “The Japanese soldiers will soon be here to liberate us.”

He stated that some time before the meeting in question, at a private conference between Ted Akahoshi, *Issei* Chairman of Block leaders at Manzanar, and two other individuals, Akahoshi made the following statement in the heat of an argument concerning certain government orders:

“I want to say this, and I want this to be kept just among us three. If one of you should happen to tell it to someone else, I am going to deny it. If Japan loses this war, we—and I include you citizens, too—will all become slaves of this country. If Japan wins, we will then tell them how to run this country.”

#### PRO-JAPANESE SYMPATHIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Dr. John Lechner contended that there now exists in the United States a nationally organized movement to soften the American public against the time when the Japanese-Americans will be released from internment centers. (Volume XVI, pp. 3933-3980.) He described this effort as “a tremendously powerful movement.” He stated that there are several organizations now engaged in a campaign to discredit the

United States Army's policy of evacuating the Japanese and the policy of the Government in holding the Japanese in concentration or restricted areas. Beginning at page 3963 of Volume XVI, Dr. Lechner states:

"This group is comprised largely of church and educational leaders.

"Here is an article which was written by Norman Thomas, head of the Socialist Party, and distributed by the *Post-War Council*.

"I understand that several hundred thousand (copies) were sent out. This is a scathing indictment against the United States policy employed so far as the Japanese are concerned, and he (Norman Thomas) advocates the immediate release of all Japanese-Americans. Two months ago Dr. Palmer announced that he had over 1,600 leading ministers in this country who had signed up as active members. (Churchmen's Committee for Christian Peace; Dr. Albert Palmer, chairman and head of the Chicago Seminary.) Palmer's statement on the unconditional surrender of Japan is this, as is described. In such things as these we are getting the first announcement of a very carefully worked out plan of all of these groups I am going to mention, for a negotiated peace with Japan. Speaking of unconditional surrender he said, 'This goal is not likely to be reached by any method of total military victory; some kind of negotiated peace is a desirable alternative.' This statement was made in December, 1942.

"They claim to have 12,000 or more active members throughout the United States. The principal theory is that war is not compatible with the teachings of Christ. In addition to that there is the *National Committee for Prevention of Wars*. This organization held its National convention in Philadelphia, November 11, 12, and 13, 1942. One of the aggressively active leaders is Theodore Walser, an American missionary to Japan for twenty-three years.

"He spoke before the members of the Pilgrim Church, one of the large churches in Washington, D. C. This was his statement: 'Japan was justified in her attack on Pearl Harbor.' He gave for his reason, first, that America had no right to interfere with Japan's 'Asia for the Asiatics' policy in the Far East. Secondly, Japan is only doing what America did to Mexico and to Central and South American Republics.'

"The *National Committee for the Prevention of War* in its convention adopted the following aims for 1943, and I list five or six points. First, is a negotiated peace with the Axis powers, following Dr. Albert Palmer's idea. Second, to give financial and moral aid to conscientious objectors; three, to give financial aid and scholarships to Japanese-Americans so that they may complete their university education; four, to release the Japanese from the relocation camps and give the relocation civilian authori-

ties power to act, because they were, apparently, from their statements, already conscious of the fact that they were wielding a great deal of influence over these civilian authorities. Five, give favorable publicity to the Japanese-Americans and the Japanese point of view in the public press, and particularly stress that point of view in church publications throughout America; set up an employment agency to aid the Japanese as fast as they are released from the relocation camps.

"Incidentally, one point here about the church publications. From our information it is very apparent that a definite policy is being employed to create a favorable attitude toward Japanese-Americans in this country, and so favorable that naturally we will build up a sympathetic attitude for Japan. That is what we call the 'softening-up process' so that these various organizations can put across with full speed, by the end of 1943, a terrific campaign for a negotiated peace with Japan, and it is a very clearly worked out scheme.

"As an indication of how far they will go \* \* \*, from December 4th to December 14th in Quebec, Canada, the *Institute of Pacific Relations*, which has a very powerful branch here, held what they called 'a Pacific conference' for the purpose of discussing post-war problems in the Pacific area. At that conference the leaders refused admission of a Korean participant, although they claimed that they were interested in establishing the Atlantic Charter of the Four Freedoms in all of the subjugated nations in the world. Finally after a threat was made to expose the *Pacific Conference* held by the *Institute of Pacific Relations*, they agreed to allow a Korean as an observer. The opposition came from some of the missionaries who came from Japan, representing the Far East.

"Underneath that whole conference was this underlying motive, to build there at that Pacific Conference in Quebec the structure for the cooperation of the *Institute of Pacific Relations* for a negotiated peace and the leaders in that conference were former missionaries and educators of Japan. Why they had this antipathy for the Korean was because they felt that if he were a part of the conference he would expose the things that were going on inside. That is a matter of fact that Mr. Haan testified to.

"The purpose of these groups, as I stated, is to soften American public opinion against Japanese and pave the way for a negotiated peace with Japan."

Dr. John Lechner, it should be stated, is an ordained minister.

## PART VII

### MANKIND UNITED

#### INTRODUCTION

Early in 1934 a small group of people assembled in the Hotel Leamington in Oakland. A mysterious individual known only as "*The Voice*" or "*The Speaker*" was the principal figure at the meeting. He was meticulously attired, slender and aloof. He affected a Messiah attitude and when his eyes were not dreamily intent in contemplation on matters far removed from his mundane surroundings, they glowed with intense magnetism on the little group who reverently drank in his every utterance.

He told them a strange and fantastic story. He went back to a Christmas Day in 1875 and told of the meeting of a group of mysterious men. Their names were never known and *never will be known*. *The Voice* designated them as "*The Sponsors*." They had gathered from the four corners of the globe, projecting their physical bodies through space, as *The Voice* was able to project his own at unbelievable speed, covering the distance between the United States and China in but a few seconds. They had gathered to discuss the deplorable conditions existing in the world—even in 1875. They had not only gathered to discuss the situation but met with a full determination to do something about it. They solemnly resolved to launch a world-crusade against war and poverty and out of the discussions of the meeting emerged an organization which became known as "*Mankind United*."

It was *The Sponsors* who contacted the superhuman race of little creatures with large metallic heads who dwell in the center of the earth, passing the time controlling earthquakes and floods. The support of this race of little supermen was enlisted in the crusade against war and poverty and the supernatural powers of the little creatures were placed at the disposal of *The Sponsors*. Supernatural control over men, mystic forces and devices were to be placed in the hands of *Mankind United* when the designated day came. These powers, controls and mystic forces included devices and apparatus whereby traffic might be brought to a halt and airplanes stopped in midflight; steel melted from a distance of miles and shells and ammunition rendered incapable of exploding. The little creatures with large metallic heads would gladly lend of their powers in making all instruments of war ineffective.

The eyes of *The Voice* must have glowed with mystic intensity and meaning as he warned his listeners of the death they would meet if they ever dared to reveal the secrets of *Mankind United*.

Since that Christmas Day in 1875 *Mankind United* had spread throughout the world. The intervening years had seen branches established everywhere. A subsidiary or auxiliary organization was established, the *International Institute for Universal Research and Administration*. The members of this scientific institute, working, no doubt,

with the little creatures in the center of the world, developed hitherto unknown, tremendous and mysterious forces to be harnessed and used when the proper time came to establish *Mankind United* in control of all the governments of the earth.

*The Voice* spoke to the little group of starry-eyed people in the Leamington Hotel in mysterious terms. He told of the *International Legion of Vigilantes*. It was related to them under solemn oaths of secrecy. *Mankind United* fought a vicious and heartless group of exploiters and slavers known as the *Hidden Rulers*. These powerful rulers were determined ruthlessly to crush *Mankind United*; it was a war to the death between the two groups. The *Hidden Rulers* controlled the world's wealth and knew that if the crusade initiated by *The Sponsors* succeeded that they would be completely destroyed.

*Der Tag* was near at hand, *The Voice* notified his entranced listeners. *The Sponsors* had determined that the time had come for action. *Alas!* There was a catch to it. Before *Mankind United* might take over all the governments of the earth, *The Sponsors* had decided that *Mankind United* must have not less than 200,000,000 members. The time, however, was ripe, *The Voice* declared, and he had been selected to bring the 200,000,000 members into the crusade of *Mankind United*. He had been granted supernatural powers for this purpose and, because of the magnitude of the job assigned to him, had been given hundreds of "doubles,"—"automatons," resembling him in every detail and endowed with his conscience and will, so that he might actually be in many places simultaneously performing the many duties imposed upon him by *The Sponsors*. Within two or three seconds his physical body, or those of his "doubles" might be transported to any given place in the world. It was nothing at all for him to go to sleep in San Francisco and wake up a few seconds later in China or India. This art of "leaping through the air with the greatest of ease" had been brought to such perfection that *The Voice* was able to travel from San Francisco to a ship in mid-Atlantic in but a few seconds and find himself in a state-room on the ship. It was a very convenient arrangement because *The Voice* was not only able to transport himself in this miraculous manner but was able to bring bales of documents and other physical material with him, without the inconvenience of customs and immigration officials.

The selected few who had met with *The Voice* in the Leamington Hotel in Oakland had been signally honored. To them was assigned the task of organizing *Mankind United* in California. *The Sponsors* had caused a book to be written and it was appropriately entitled "*Mankind United*." They were to go forth and recruit members for *Mankind United* and to sell copies of *The Sponsors'* book. The volume itself had mysterious and supernatural qualities that would be explained to all of the members at a later day. The job before them for the present was to find 200,000,000 people to buy the books so that the day of reckoning for the *Hidden Rulers* and the existing governments of the world would be hastened.

## MANKIND UNITED FANTASY

Literature of the organization was soon in circulation and the membership grew at such a pace that it became necessary for *The Voice* to divide the State of California into bureaus. The men who conducted these bureaus became known as "Bureau managers." The *Nordic Service Bureau*, the *Latin Service Bureau*, the *Ray of Light Bureau*, the *Star of the East Bureau* and more than a hundred others sprang into existence throughout California. A pioneer edition of the book *Mankind United* sold for \$100 a copy. Ordinary volumes, printed and bound in the same manner as the \$100 copy, sold for \$20 each and even as low as \$2 each. The membership fees were \$20. By 1935 and 1936 groups were meeting throughout the State and learning of the little creatures with large metallic heads who dwell in the center of the earth and who control the earthquakes and the floods. They began to hear the stories of the miraculous devices invented and developed by the *International Institute for Universal Research and Administration*; of death rays and strange inventions that could paralyze automobile traffic and bring airplanes to an abrupt halt in midflight. Each *Mankind United* Bureau group believed that they were small units of a world-wide organization waiting only for the appointed day to end war and poverty and to take over all the governments of the world simultaneously. They spoke in awe and reverence of *The Voice* or *The Speaker*, as he was sometimes called. They believed *The Voice* was merely a connecting link between the bureaus and *The Sponsors* of the great international organization.

In 1940 and 1941 the citizens of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Fresno and other cities in California, might have seen yellow mimeographed circulars generously and profusely circulated in downtown districts. They advertised the secret showing of a motion picture and outlined a method whereby an interested party might view the film. Devious ways and means were provided for gaining permission to view the mysterious picture. Absolute secrecy was demanded of each applicant who was granted this privilege. The Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California learned that these films were being exhibited during this period both at the headquarters of the *German-American Bund* and the Communist Party headquarters in San Francisco and in Los Angeles.

Within a few days of the bombing of Pearl Harbor investigators for the committee learned that the bureaus of *Mankind United* throughout the State had suddenly become beehives of activity. Members had been ordered by bureau managers to lay in supplies of food and clothing, to secure blankets and water in sealed containers in preparation for the time of confusion and siege which would necessarily be incident to *Mankind United* taking over the government. They were ordered to cooperate in the preparation of large maps detailing the location of airplane factories, shipyards, police and radio stations, hospitals, tunnels, railroad lines and bridges. They were ordered to time themselves in order to ascertain how long it would take to go from certain central points to the homes of non-members within certain specified limits.

Bureau managers were summoned to San Francisco for a conference with *The Voice* and returned to tell their respective members that they must not purchase United States War Bonds or Stamps. The members were informed by the bureau managers that military units such as the *Women's Auxiliary Army Corps* had been formed for the purpose of providing the armed forces of the United States with uniformed prostitutes. They were informed that the government had deliberately sent most of the armed forces abroad in order to leave the Nation defenseless against invasion and that the few remaining troops were being rapidly shifted about the country to create an illusion of a large protective force at home. They were told that President Roosevelt had personally ordered the bombing of Tokio in his desire to provoke Japanese retaliation in a bombing of the Pacific Coast. This was desirable on the part of the President, they declared, in order to create an excuse for the declaration of martial law so that he might be set up as a permanent dictator.

The members of the committee were convinced of the subversive character of the organization and its leaders. In this mystic realm of strange mental distortions several thousand distressed people were groping through the mist of their own befuddlement in search of some panacea for their ills; activated by an insane web of fantasy spun from the brain of a designing charlatan and working with frantic zeal to thwart the war effort of their own government.

The committee decided to subpoena the known leaders of the organization. Those called to testify are as follows:

George Governeur Ashwell	Guy McKinley Wright
Arthur Lowber Bell	Chester Cleveland Cook
Dr. Eugene Wadsworth Brown	Walter Henry Chris Peters
P. J. Cardoza	Eugene W. Laisne
A. Ray Elsea	Bay Burns Sharp
Willard E. Franke	Dema Jane Fleming
Fern Ruth Lewis	John William Peck
Orlando Meniketti	James Everett Coe
Cora Wickham	Robert M. Schuler

## 2

### MANKIND UNITED IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Mrs. Fern Ruth Lewis has been a resident of San Bernardino for 15 years. (Volume X, pp. 3004-3027.) She had been a member of *Mankind United* for about two years. She had become affiliated through her acquaintance with a woman she had met in a beauty shop where she was working as a cosmetologist. The woman gave her (Lewis) a copy of *Mien Kampf* and Mrs. Lewis gave her \$5 as her initiation fee for membership in *Mankind United*. The woman told Mrs. Lewis of a miraculous "ray machine" that was to be demonstrated by the organization at a cottage near Lake Arrowhead. Mrs. Lewis became a member of the *Ruth-Ann Bureau*, headed by Dr. Eugene W. Brown. The bureau met in Los Angeles and had between 50 and 100 members.

Dr. Brown told the members of the *Ruth-Ann Bureau* that they were all protected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mrs.

Lewis stated that the bureau was in possession of maps of all cities along the coast of southern California and that these maps were displayed in meetings of the *Ruth-Ann Bureau*. Dr. Brown told the members that if the inactive affiliates failed to obey the orders of the active members that dire things might happen to them. "You know what the *Gestapo* did to the people of France!" Mrs. Lewis reported Dr. Brown as significantly declaring. She described the maps of the areas in question as being very thorough and stated that the homes of members of *Mankind United* were marked with colored pins indicating active and inactive members. The white pins were for the active members and the pink pins for those who were inactive. She said that all public buildings were marked and that the number of employees working in the buildings were listed together with any members of *Mankind United* who might also work with them. She never learned the exact purpose of the maps, although she claimed that Dr. Brown had hinted that they were to be used for sabotaging the war effort when the time came.

Following the news of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Dr. Brown had advised the members to lay in supplies of food and bedding. All members of *Mankind United* were to be ready when sabotage hit the country so that they would be prepared to take over the government. He warned them that they should lay in sufficient food for three months and should be supplied with boiled water, first aid kits, etc. He strongly indicated that there would be general chaos at some time in the very near future. The active members of *Mankind United* had little to worry about, according to Dr. Brown, as he indicated that they would be protected. He told them to ascertain how long it would take each of them to go to each others homes in their particular community because when the "message" came, it must be relayed to each of the members and that "an hour was all the time" they would have.

Mrs. Lewis stated that Dr. Brown told the purchasers of the book, "*Mankind United*," that there was a secret message contained in it and that this message could be clearly brought out with a simple household appliance. She declared that she had ruined two books attempting to find the message.

The map for the City of Los Angeles was very thorough, Mrs. Lewis stated. It indicated everything very clearly in the area, including tunnels and power outlets.

The objectives of *Mankind United*, as outlined by Dr. Brown were the achievement of complete unity of all people and the establishment of equal wages and equal living conditions. This objective was to be attained by the use of force and the world-wide sabotage of war efforts. Mrs. Lewis told the committee that she had come to the conclusion that the members were held in the organization by *fear* and that the real purposes of its leaders were being concealed from the members and the general public. She stated that she believed the organization to be subversive. She estimated the number of members in southern California as more than 11,500. She had heard of *The Speaker* and had also heard him referred to as *The Voice*.

The place where the demonstration of the ray machine was held was alleged to have been located in Cajon Pass and was known to be the

headquarters of the *Nazis*. She stated that the caretaker of the place was a German who could barely speak English.

Dr. Brown had exhibited a picture to the members of *Mankind United* in San Bernardino and Mrs. Lewis stated that during the showing of the film he "pranced up and down and had the people in tears through fear."

She had heard Dr. Brown tell of *The Speaker's* ability to transport himself about the earth at will and of the little men in the center of the earth who controlled the earthquakes and floods.

She stated that while the regular initiation fee was \$20 she had only paid \$5.

A man by the name of Eugene Messenger collected the membership money in San Bernardino for delivery to Dr. Brown in Los Angeles.

She stated that Dr. Brown had reported to the membership a meeting of bureau managers which had been held in San Francisco, in September of 1939. He stated that an army of 10,000 saboteurs were ready in the United States.

Mrs. Lewis testified that she knew of groups of *Mankind United* in Colton, but that there were none in Riverside to her knowledge.

A. Ray Elsea had been the manager of the *Ray of Light Bureau* of *Mankind United* since December of 1938. (May 12, 1942 Hearing, pp. 87-104.) He had been a student of metaphysics. He admitted having heard *The Voice* speak. He had heard *The Speaker* tell of his travels and of having "lost consciousness" and waking up in other parts of the world. He denied ever having heard of saboteurs maintained by *Mankind United* and regarded the accomplishments of the organization in the same light as the miracles performed by Jesus. He denied ever having heard of instructions from *The Speaker* regarding the preparation of maps.

He stated that the source of his income was through the "normal channels" of bureau collections and that he devoted his entire time to the work of the bureau and lived by it. He claimed that he made financial reports at bureau manager meetings and that the money collected by him was turned over to a Mrs. Bess D. Comfort and a Mrs. Erwin, who constitute a financial committee for the purpose of receiving money. A Max Miller of the *A. P. Roberts Bureau* of Palo Alto also served on the "financial committee." He denied having any knowledge of the disposition of the funds.

He was able to recall a description of the mechanisms of *Mankind United* published in the bulletins of the organization. The committee had heard of a device allegedly developed by the *International Institute of Universal Research and Administration* which, when properly in operation, caused people's eyes "to pop out of their head." Mr. Elsea admitted that he believed that this device had been described in the text of the book, "*Mankind United*" or some of the organization's literature.

Dr. Wadsworth Brown was subpoenaed and testified February 24, 1942 (Volume IX, pp. 2658-2678). He was drugless physician and doctor of chiropractic by training and his profession was that of "lecturer." He was a graduate of the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic and had resided in Los Angeles since 1916.

He was not acquainted with a man by the name of Arthur L. Bell and had only heard of this individual through the newspapers and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He was acquainted with a man who was known by the name of George Ashwell and had known him for about three years. He had met him at various gatherings of "teachers and seekers,"—seekers after the truth. While he was not acquainted with Arthur L. Bell, he admitted having seen and heard *The Speaker*, who was sometimes also referred to as *The Voice*. He stated vaguely and mysteriously that he had seen one who seemed to be *The Speaker* or *The Voice* on many occasions, intimating that it might not have been, after all. He had heard *The Voice* mention an apparatus which could destroy all war machinery (p. 2668). "We are against war because it causes suffering and poverty," he added. He believed the international bankers represent the "hidden powers" that cause wars. All instructions to the bureau managers and its members come "through" *The Speaker*, he alleged.

He averred that *Mankind United* had existed since Christmas day in 1875. He had belonged to the organization since August of 1938 and was the manager of the *Ruth-Ann Bureau*. He had knowledge of the *Ray of Light Bureau* in Los Angeles and the *George Ashwell Bureau*, whose location he did not indicate. He knew of no other bureaus. The *Ruth-Ann Bureau* had sold between two and three hundred copies of the book, "Mankind United." He claimed to know nothing of the financial status of Arthur L. Bell or the organization of *Mankind United* in California. He had no knowledge of where the books were printed. He remembered having attended bureau managers meetings but could not remember when or where or how many he had attended or who was present with him. He claimed to know nothing of "trained saboteurs" maintained by the organization.

He knew vaguely of the *International Registration Bureau* but did not know where it was located or anything about it. He claimed he had never heard of "the little men in the center of the earth with metallic heads who control floods and earthquakes." He would not dispute their existence.

He denied that *Mankind United* actually had members. He explained that there was no actual membership in the organization and its supporters were only interested persons. The objective of the organization was "security and abundance" for the "persons interested." Being pressed for the number of members in the *Ruth-Ann Bureau*, he finally stated that it consisted of "possibly a thousand" persons who were merely "interested." He stated that the goal of *Mankind United* for membership (or "interested persons") is 200 million people. He stated mysteriously that the policies of the organization change "sufficiently to cooperate with the law" (p. 2676). The bureau managers receive no salary. They do receive certain revenues from the sale of books.

He admitted having seen the organization's motion picture, "*Dealers in Death.*"

He stated that there was no accounting of the funds in the organization and that it was not deemed necessary. The members do not demand audits and the bureau managers never question the disposition of the money they turn into the San Francisco headquarters.

Dr. Brown was recalled May 12, 1942 (May, 1942, Hearing, pp. 2-62 and 104-109). At this hearing he reiterated much of his previous history. He stated that the greater part of his duties as the manager of the *Ruth-Ann Bureau* was relaying messages to "interested people" from *The Speaker*. He stated that these messages came on the average of once a month and that the *Ruth-Ann Bureau* put out bulletins conveying the messages to its members or "interested people."

The last meeting of the bureau managers was held on May 4, 1942. "At least one of him," (meaning one of *The Speaker's* doubles) was present and he "thought" that less than 20 bureau managers were in attendance. He contacted George Ashwell while in San Francisco for the meeting. The meeting was held in the St. Francis Hotel. At that time he received instructions from *The Speaker*.

*The Speaker* occasionally sent messages by telegraph to bureau managers and Dr. Brown identified one such telegram of February 14, 1942, which was signed "Division Superintendent." He stated that the telegrams were sometimes signed "Department A."

He had never heard of Mrs. Ruth Lewis until he read her name in the Los Angeles newspapers after she had testified before the committee. He later found her name on his records as an "enrollee." He ventured the opinion that she was a "detective." He stated: "We are not quite as green as we might look" (p. 19).

He explained that he had become interested in *Mankind United* because of the similarity of its philosophy to Edward Bellamy's "*Looking Backward*." He had then joined the *Faith Grace Bureau*, which was headed by Bess D. Comfort. This bureau was located on South Vermont Avenue in Los Angeles and the meeting place was at Ninth and Grand. He had known Ray A. Elsea, the manager of the *Ray of Light Bureau*, since the fall of 1938, although he had never attended any of the meetings of the *Ray of Light Bureau*. He stated that he knew Mrs. Gertrude W. Erwin, who was manager of the *Hall-Gardner Bureau*. He identified other bureau managers.

He received some revenue from the sale of health food products and had filed an income tax return for the year 1941. His bookkeeper, Alice Erdman, was responsible for making tax returns for the *Ruth-Ann Bureau*. "We are told to lean backwards," he commented, "in obeying the law \* \* \*" (p. 27).

He related some of the "peculiar happenings" concerning the "doubles" of *The Speaker*. He identified bulletins, telegrams, and other documents connected with the organization which were entered in the committee's record. He stated that his files for the bureau were maintained at 1325 Ingraham Street in Los Angeles and that it included the lists of "registrants" with their addresses. Marion Huff kept a set of books for the San Bernardino Division of the *Ruth-Ann Bureau*. She maintains a "captain's unit" there, he added.

He stated that the chief source of the bureau's income was from collections taken at the meetings. He described these collections as "love offerings."

He declared that *Mankind United* was divided into four territories in the State and that a bureau manager was in charge of each county. The counties were broken down into districts when the membership warranted and each district was divided into areas and the areas into

sections. He explained that the entire structural plan of *Mankind United* had not been completely put into operation and that the districts had been abolished at the time he testified. The bureaus had taken them over.

He claimed that no fee had been paid by him in order to become the bureau manager. He had purchased books, forms, etc. At the time of testifying, he claimed that no new bureau managers were being appointed. He admitted that his bureau had carried out instructions to map certain areas and to clock the time it took to get to members' homes. He stated that a report on these matters had been sent to San Francisco but hedged in naming to whom it was sent. The reason for the mapping and timing was explained as preparation for a time of chaos and the belief that "there will be an uprising of fifth columnists synchronized with an invasion from the outside." He stated that the United States Government would break down at the critical moment and that it would then be necessary for the people to have food and supplies. Therefore the members of *Mankind United* had been instructed to store necessary food and supplies in advance. He stated that the "inventions in the hands of *The Sponsors*" would enable *Mankind United* to come into power.

The *Ruth-Ann Bureau* had five captains and 30 lieutenants since February of 1940. He "did not know" the number of "enrollees" or the number of "registrants" carried on the rolls of the *Ruth-Ann Bureau*. He estimated that there were around 200 "registrants" and 400 "enrollees." He explained that the statements printed in the bulletins claiming more than the figures quoted by him were "rather loose statements."

The term "pioneer" was explained as indicating those who had purchased the "Pioneer Edition" of the book, "*Mankind United*" for \$100 per copy.

He denied that he had ever threatened any of the members with physical violence. He claimed that *The Speaker* told a southern California meeting of bureau managers that "This organization will never do anything to sabotage or act as a channel of espionage of this country's armed equipment" (p. 60).

He branded as ridiculous allegations concerning a *Mankind United* apparatus which would cause the eyeballs of people to pop out and claimed that the organization had never been told of any such equipment. He added that if there existed apparatus capable of sabotaging the war effort it would be used to stop all, not a part, of war machinery. He added that the "warmongers" were those who were portrayed in such motion pictures as "*Dealers in Death*."

He concluded his testimony by declaring that the doors of *Mankind United* were open to all races and all creeds.

#### MANKIND UNITED IN CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

The committee subpoenaed eight witnesses in its investigation of *Mankind United* in Fresno, May 22 and 23, 1942.

John William Peek had affiliated with *Mankind United* in the latter part of April, 1939 (Volume XI, pp. 3208-3294). He had attended a

meeting of the organization the Wednesday night preceding the hearing. The meeting was presided over by Bay Burns Sharp. There were about 30 people present and the meeting was held at the corner of Kearney and Arthur Streets, in the home of Walter Henry Chris Peters.

Peck recalled that he had known A. R. Lawn since May of 1939. He recalled having received a bulletin from *Mankind United* in reference to the disaffiliation of Lawn. The bulletin had explained that Lawn had voluntarily resigned and the affiliates of his bureau would be informed of the bureau to which they would be transferred.

Peck admitted having heard of the *International Institute of Universal Research and Administration*, of the *Universal Service Corporation*, the *Pacific Registration Bureau*, the *Division Superintendent*, *The Voice*, *The Speaker*, the *Hidden Rulers* and the *Unknown Sponsors*. He stated that all of these organizations and individuals had been mentioned from time to time. No one had ever taken the trouble to tell him who *The Sponsors* were and the *Hidden Rulers* had never been referred to by name. He had heard of strange and mysterious mechanisms and devices having power to paralyze human animation and motor traffic. He had been told of a device which had been developed by *Mankind United* or one of its affiliate-organizations which had the power to melt steel at a distance of 30 miles. He recalled that Dr. Lawn had described this device to him. He recalled hearing of an experiment which had been demonstrated somewhere south of the City of Fresno. He had been told that all highway traffic had been tied up for a period of 20 minutes and that police cars going to investigate failed to operate their motor vehicles during the time of the tie-up. Peck had been informed that the traffic tie-up was the result of the operation of the device developed by *Mankind United*. Discussions concerning the success of the experiment took place between the members of *Mankind United* in March of 1942.

He had been told that the organization was controlled in California by an individual known only as *The Voice* or *The Speaker*. He had been told that the *Division Superintendent* was the same individual otherwise described as *The Voice* or *The Speaker*.

He knew Harry Smith Simmons and admitted having attended meetings of the *A. P. Burns Bureau* with him. He had heard Carol Purcell speak at meetings of *Mankind United* during the previous two months.

He stated that he had been present at a meeting when Bay Burns Sharp had spoken concerning the bombing of Tokio. Sharp had stated in substance that the Yanks had bombed Tokio for the purpose of bringing the present conflict home to the people of America, and that this act was to be the final step used by subversive forces in bringing the war to America. Sharp declared in substance that the bombing of Tokio would result in the Japanese bombing the West Coast, and that martial law would follow. Sharp stated that the armed forces and equipment of the United States were being sent out of the country, leaving the Nation defenseless. Peck stated that there had been talk at the meetings concerning the possibility of the bubonic plague stalking California and of germicidal warfare.

He was recalled to testify May 23, 1942 (Volume XI, pp. 3295-3305). He told of a meeting which had been conducted by a woman by name

of Howard in the Spring of 1940 of active affiliates of the *Star of the East Bureau* which was then under the management of Dr. A. R. Lawn. He stated that Mrs. Howard presided and that there were 15 affiliates present.

He claimed that he had been invited to become a bureau manager and that the invitation had been extended to him by Dr. Lawn around the twenty-second of October, 1939. He stated that there did not appear to be particular qualifications necessary for a bureau manager and at the time the invitation was extended, qualifications were not discussed. Dr. Lawn requested him to take charge of all of *Mankind United* in Fresno County. He did not accept the invitation and Dr. Lawn continued to press him to do so. Subsequently, qualifications for bureau managers were discussed at Peck's home. Bay Burns Sharp, Peck and his wife were present during the discussion. Sharp wanted to know why Peck had not taken a more active part in the affairs of *Mankind United*. Peck told him that it was because he had certain doubts and that there were certain questions in his mind, which, up to that time, had not been answered. Sharp expressed a desire to discuss the questions with Peck and called at his home later in order to clear up the points in Peck's mind. This discussion, which was on or about the first of March, 1942, included the spiritual phases as well as all of the mechanical phases and principles of *Mankind United*. Financial requirements and other qualifications for bureau managership were also discussed.

Peck stated that Sharp told him that the application for enrollment would cost \$20. This amount would cover the cost of certain classes which Peck must attend and which would be held at a later date. Eight dollars and thirty-three cents was necessary for certain equipment and "protection," also to be supplied at a later date. The equipment consisted of printed matter, such as bulletins and instructions, and the "protection" was described as applying to every form of "protection" the witness might need. On March 6, 1942, Peck paid Sharp \$1 which was part payment on the bureau managership's pledge and at a later date he applied \$18 on the enrollment fee of \$20. He testified that he had never completed his qualifying requirements in order to become a bureau manager and that, in fact, he had never actually been a bureau manager.

He told of a meeting at Walter Henry Chris Peter's home on March 18, 1942, when mysterious radio transmitting equipment developed by *Mankind United* was discussed. This equipment was to be used, he was told, in giving a world-wide program of *Mankind United*. Other mysterious devices were also discussed which, it was said, were to be given to members of *Mankind United* to enable them to tune in on the world-wide program of the organization.

Peck stated that he had heard Sharp declare that everything that *Mankind United* could do to hold back the war effort would result in the saving of millions of lives.

Walter Henry Chris Peters admitted having attended a meeting of *Mankind United* at his residence on the Wednesday preceding the hearing (Volume XI, pp. 3171-3177). He declared that he had been interested in the movement for about three years and that he first became affiliated in the latter part of 1939. His wife, Winona Peters, was also

interested and had been so for about the same length of time. Many of the meetings were held in his home or at the home of a Mrs. Marks. He was a "lieutenant" of the *A. P. Burns Bureau* and had been so "commissioned" for a year or longer. He did not know who had appointed him a "lieutenant," and, as a matter of fact, admitted that "nobody had appointed him." When he came to think about it, he did not know exactly how he had obtained the title of "lieutenant." When asked to describe his duties in the capacity of "lieutenant," he stated that he did not know what the duties were because he "had never performed them." He said that he did not sign his title to correspondence because he "did not have correspondence." After thinking the matter over he stated that he *had been elected* a "lieutenant" after all, but was unable to remember who "elected" him, but "guessed" that it must have been those who comprised the local group interested in *Mankind United*. He did not know whether the vote electing him had been oral or written or who had presided at the meeting when the vote was taken or when the meeting was held. He was able to recall that Dr. Lawn was the bureau manager at the time he had been made a "lieutenant." He stated that there were captains in connection with the *Mankind United* movement and that the captain in Fresno happened to be his wife, Winona. He knew as little about her "commission" as he knew about his own. He stated that he did not know whether she had been elected or appointed and could not remember whether or not he was present at the time she received her "captaincy." He did not know what the duties of the captain were.

He received bulletins from the organization from time to time but claimed that he did not know where the bulletins came from.

Chester Cleveland Cook had been a chiropractor in Watsonville and salesman for the *Aluminum Cooking Utensil Company* in King City. At the time of testifying, May 22, 1942, he was residing in Hanford with his wife and four children (Volume XI, pp. 3150-3170).

He was familiar with *Mankind United* and had been a member for about three years. He ventured the belief that the *Universal Institute for Research and Administration* was the parent body or the "institution" behind *Mankind United*. He stated that it had been created on December 25, 1875. He did not know where the headquarters were located. He had heard of the *Pacific Coast Registration Bureau*, but did not know its location. He had heard of the *Universal Service Corporation* but could not recollect anything concerning it at the time of testifying. He declined to identify a book entitled "*Question and Answer Bulletin B*" which contained "Forms 97 and 98," published by the *Pacific Coast Division of the International Bureau*. He stated that he would first have to confer with legal counsel before making such identification. He explained that he did not personally desire to refuse to answer the question but that he did not want to get into trouble. After being advised of his rights before the committee, Cook admitted that he had seen the exhibit and that he was familiar with "*Question and Answer Bulletin C.*" He also was familiar with a printed sheet entitled "*Mankind United Creed.*"

Much of Cook's testimony was similar to that of other witnesses and he corroborated former testimony concerning the structure of the organization, its divisions and bureaus, bureau management and bureau

administration under a "manager," "captains" and "lieutenants." He testified, in addition, that seven divisions had been planned for Fresno County to be known as "districts" and that each district was to be divided into ten "areas" and each area in turn was to be divided into "sections."

He had been acquainted with Bay Burns Sharp for a year and a half and had met him in Tulare County. Sharp had always been in charge of the *A. P. Burns Bureau* with its headquarters in Fresno. The *A. P. Burns Bureau* had jurisdiction over Fresno, Tulare, Kings and Madera Counties.

He claimed that he had never heard anyone connected with *Mankind United* referred to as *The Speaker*. He had heard of the "Superintendent" of the *Pacific Coast Registration Bureau* and had seen this designation in printed matter. He admitted that he had heard of an individual connected with *Mankind United* referred to as *The Voice*.

He had become affiliated with the movement originally through a book which had been sent to him by Dr. A. R. Lawn from Salinas. Dr. Lawn, at that time, he stated, was the manager of the *Star of the East Bureau*. He denied ever having heard of the *A. P. Roberts Bureau*.

His entire family belonged to *Mankind United* in Hanford. There were others who had belonged but they were now away doing defense work "or something." He held meetings of the movement in his home on Braydon Avenue in Hanford and presided over them. He stated that he believed that "*Mankind United* belongs to the affiliates" of the movement and that "the affiliates did not belong to *Mankind United*." He believed that a unit of the organization existed in Visalia but stated that most of the meetings in the valley were held in Fresno at the Peters residence.

He recalled having seen a motion picture entitled "*Dealers in Death*" but could not state whether or not it was sponsored by *Mankind United* or the *Registration Bureau*. In the next breath he said that *Mankind United* was a subdivision of the *Registration Bureau*. He denied ever having seen a motion picture entitled "*Things to Come*" sponsored by either the *Registration Bureau* or *Mankind United*. He admitted having seen two motion pictures in connection with the activities of the organization. "*Dealers in Death*" was shown on either Irving Street or Dowdy Street in Hanford. The other picture had been exhibited on some camp ground, "or something," in Visalia. He had read of mysterious mechanisms developed by the Research Department of *Mankind United* or the *International Institute for Universal Research and Administration*. He understood that these mechanisms might be inventions, or forces, or vibrations, "or something" of the *International Institute for Universal Research and Administration*.

The fundamental and basic principle of *Mankind United*, according to Cook, was opposition to war from a Christian standpoint. He stated that when a certain number of individuals become sufficiently interested in the movement and sufficient money is raised to warrant the release of a certain program "(concerning which nobody knows very much)," there would then ensue a 30 day educational program which would be released to all the people affiliated with *Mankind United*. This would happen when there existed a "representative audience," of at least 200,000,000 people. He denied that he had ever heard of the hidden

race of little men with metallic heads who are alleged to be destined to play an important part in the final accomplishment of *Mankind United's* goal. He stated that the heads of great church organizations had been offered "this great power to end war and bring about a new world" but the heads of the churches had not appeared willing to "take it up."

Dema Jane Fleming had been acquainted with Bay Burns Sharp since February of 1942 (Volume XI, pp. 3271-3280). She had attended several meetings of the *A. P. Burns Bureau* of *Mankind United* and had heard Sharp state that the bombing of Tokio was an invitation to the Japanese to bomb the West Coast of the United States. Sharp had explained that the "powers that be" "(probably the government)," intended to declare martial law in order to bring about a dictatorship in the United States. Sharp contended that the only way this dictatorship could be prevented would be to put over the program of *Mankind United* and thus bring forth all the equipment in the organization's possession for the purpose of stopping the war. Mrs. Fleming stated that she had learned that this equipment was capable of suspending animation in a human being and that whole armies could be disarmed while in such a state. *Mankind United*, she had been told, was prepared to use this force and disarm the armies of the world just as soon as the required number of persons were secured. Sharp had stated that the armed forces of the United States were being sent abroad, leaving the United States inadequately defended and that troops were being shifted back and forth to make the people believe that a sufficient number were left to defend the country. She stated that she had heard Sharp state on several occasions that *Mankind United* was in possession of a technique for "throwing monkey-wrenches into the war effort." She had also heard this statement made by a Mr. Simmons. Sharp had stated that for every day he or the defensive branch of the organization did something to hold back the war effort in the United States that "we are saving millions of lives."

On the evening before testifying, Mrs. Fleming stated that John William Peck had come to her house and asked her to go to his home to meet Mr. Sharp who was coming over to discuss the committee's subpoenas and the contemplated hearing. She accompanied Peck to his home and Mr. Sharp told them that he had consulted an attorney by the name of Collins in reference to the subpoenas received from the legislative committee. Sharp, according to Mrs. Fleming, laid down a line of conduct which he stated he intended to follow before the inquiry. He stated that he intended to make the examiner angry and advised those present at the meeting of ways and means to avoid answering questions. He told them that a "lapse of memory" was a good subterfuge for refusing to answer questions. He told them that people who were subpoenaed by such committees could refuse to answer questions and "stand on their Constitutional rights."

Mrs. Fleming stated that John William Peck had given her a copy of T. W. Hughes' book, "*The Truth About England.*"

Eugene W. Laisne is an optometrist in Fresno, California (Volume XI, pp. 3177-3210.) He first became interested in *Mankind United* when a Dr. Wallace in Sacramento gave him a book to read entitled "*Mankind United.*" He frankly declared that the idea of *Mankind United* "captivated" him.

He later contacted Dr. Lawn of Salinas. Lawn came to Fresno and later sent Dr. Laisne several sets of the books. Laisne then induced some of the doctors in Fresno to interest themselves in the movement, as he sincerely believed it was worthy of consideration at the time.

The book itself declared that the movement had been organized on December 25, 1875, and that it was international in scope—"world-wide." He knew of the *International Institute for Research and Administration* and the existence of a corporation in a nebulous state which, some time in the future, when a sufficient number of people had become interested, would be brought into full existence to be known as the *Universal Service Corporation*. The movement had as one of its basic objectives the economic security and happiness of all the people. Another basic principle was the assurance of world-wide peace based on the doctrines of the Christian religion.

Dr. Laisne testified that he saw an individual in the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco who was referred to as *The Voice* or *The Speaker*. He saw him from a great distance. He stated that there were several thousand people in attendance at the meeting in question. He had never heard of Arthur L. Bell.

He could not recall whether he first affiliated with the *Ray of Light Bureau* or the *Star of the East Bureau*. He had been asked to make contributions to the movement through the purchasing of copies of the book "*Mankind United*" and, because of his great enthusiasm in the beginning, he contributed some seven or eight hundred dollars in addition to contributing office work and space for the local bureau. He still had some 50 or 60 copies of the book.

He had heard of the *Ruth-Ann Bureau* in southern California and of the *George Ashwell Bureau* in the City of San Francisco. He claimed that he had attempted to contact George Ashwell on a number of occasions but had never been able to do so.

He had never been a bureau manager. He stated that Dr. Lawn had appointed a Mr. Dibble as bureau manager in Fresno and that Mr. Dibble came down from San Francisco and spent considerable time in the valley.

He pointed out that rumors of mysterious mechanisms and devices allegedly developed by the Research Department of *Mankind United* or one of its affiliate organizations, was the chief inducement used in recruiting new members into the organization. The first mechanism described to prospective recruits was a contrivance that, when attached to home radios, enabled them to listen in to radio programs that no one else could hear—*Mankind United* programs, or programs of one of the other organizations, such as the *Universal Service Corporation*, the *Institute of Universal Research and Administration*, etc. The members had become very enthusiastic over the descriptions of this contrivance and it was the high point in selling the organization. Dr. Laisne had never seen one of the contrivances or attachments and declared that he had never heard of anyone who had seen one. Leaders of the movement claimed from time to time that *Mankind United* had stopped Hitler "from doing this or doing that, by his forces, underground forces, that nobody knew except the man at the head." Among the other developments of the *Institute of Universal Research and Administration* was a

device which, when properly operated, paralyzed all electrical apparatus.

Dr. Laisne identified the subject matter of a mimeographed bulletin marked "*A. P. Burns Bureau, P. O. 77, Palo Alto, California*" as typical of claims made by the organization. The bulletin described a situation in which "all over the earth, very suddenly, every weapon of modern warfare is rendered useless, bombers refuse to fly, warships float aimlessly \* \* \*." The bulletin asked the following question: "Do you suppose that humanity would cooperate with a plan—work with a movement that would render useless all machines of death, if such a plan was offered them?"

He testified that no one had ever explained to him how bombers could be rendered incapable of flying or how explosives might be rendered incapable of exploding, but admitted that he had heard these statements made and that *Mankind United* was alleged to have developed the means of performing these very miracles.

He finally severed his affiliation with the organization because of the many inconsistencies that it promulgated. Promises were continually being made and repeated from time to time of certain things that were about to take place and contradictory statements were frequently made. He came to the conclusion that no good could come from that sort of thing and that the men behind the organization were taking an unfair advantage of people who were merely striving to better their lives and their neighborhoods.

Laisne said that Dr. Lawn was "quite an individual." He stated that he exercised an evangelistic influence over people. He confronted Dr. Lawn repeatedly with statements that he had made and pointed out to him that the organization had no right to sell 50-cent books for \$2; that if the leaders were really sincere, no one should be kept from reading the books because of their price. He wanted to know where the profits made by the books went. He never found out. After a conversation of this kind with Dr. Lawn, in Dr. Laisne's office, no more meetings were held in his office. The next meeting was held on Ash Street in Fresno and Dr. Laisne attended for the purpose of attempting to right the wrong which he felt he had done to people and friends who had become involved in the organization due to his early enthusiasm.

Among other things, *Mankind United* bulletins always advertised the "thirty-day program" which was always "just about to be released"—the thirty-day program in which the radio "gadget" would be distributed to the faithful and through which *The Sponsors* would outline the new world order. This "thirty-day program" was invariably postponed due to unforeseen contingencies and lack of funds.

Dr. Lawn had told Dr. Laisne that it was very necessary to conceal the identity of the leaders of the movement and that it was for this reason that the California link between the membership and *The Sponsors* was only referred to as *The Speaker* or *The Voice*. To reveal his identity would be to place him in grave danger; that he would be "done away with" in some fashion or persecuted so that the work could not continue. He had been told that the movement originated in England and that the *Hidden Rulers* also were in that country. The great objective of *Mankind United* was continually to combat the *Hidden Rulers*. These rulers, he had been told, were men who exercised

great power over money and who, ultimately, desired to subject all of the people to slavery. The *Hidden Rulers* would be automatically removed when a sufficient number of people had affiliated with the movement; when *Mankind United* reached the 200,000,000 mark, the *Hidden Rulers* would simply be replaced. All existing governments, Dr. Laisne had been told, were controlled by the *Hidden Rulers* and consequently all governments must be removed from the control of the *Hidden Rulers*.

He testified that he had heard of a device which allegedly had been developed by *Mankind United*, which could paralyze traffic and that he had been told that it could be used to control or upset existing conditions. Dr. Lawn had conveyed this information to him and the members had discussed it very seriously.

Bay Burns Sharp had called on Dr. Laisne some two or three months before and had attempted to induce him again to come back into the movement. He had refused to do so. Laisne was acquainted with John Peck and had known him for two or more years.

He stated that he believed the majority of the members of *Mankind United* hoped the miraculous things that had been told them concerning the movement were true rather than *actually* and fully believing them and that they had placed their confidence in the speakers who brought them the messages.

The purpose of the San Francisco meeting attended by Dr. Laisne was to inform the bureau managers and the members why the "thirty-day program" which had been set for a certain day, would not take place. The fault, they were told, by *The Speaker* was in the people for failing to interest a sufficient number of others in the movement. *The Speaker* admonished the members for failing properly to perform and declared that there were slackers among them who had not done their duty. *The Speaker* said that the "thirty-day program" would have taken place, as scheduled, had the bureau managers and the members not failed. Inasmuch as they had failed, and the "thirty-day program" was postponed, it would be necessary for them to reorganize. The "thirty-day program" depended upon securing of 200,000,000 affiliates and the quota for California was 200 thousand. A new organizational structure was outlined with a new set of terms, such as "captains," "lieutenants," etc. The price of the book "*Mankind United*" was to be boosted to \$200. Dr. Laisne said that *The Speaker* at the San Francisco meeting was "very dictatorial."

Bay Burns Sharp gave his occupation as carpenter (Volume XI, pp. 3211-3270). He was the manager of the *A. P. Burns Bureau* of *Mankind United* and had occupied this position for four years. He stated that the bureau has jurisdiction over Tulare, Kings, Fresno and Madera Counties. The organization had been active in Visalia and still functioned there under his supervision. He testified that the *A. P. Burns Bureau* had received its name from the word "Palo Alto," the initials being in reverse, and that "Burns" was taken from his middle name, thus making up the designation, "*A. P. Burns Bureau*." He had selected the title for the bureau himself.

He had become interested in *Mankind United* and had become a bureau manager because of the "ideals presented and promulgated in the book called '*Mankind United*'." He had applied for affiliation in

the organization through the *A. P. Mason Bureau*. Max Mason, the manager of the *A. P. Mason Bureau*, had mailed or transmitted his application to *The Voice*. He stated that shortly after making application, he assumed his duties as manager of the *A. P. Burns Bureau*.

Sharp was familiar with the *International Institute of Universal Research and Administration* but denied that it was a part of *Mankind United*. The *International Institute of Universal Research and Administration* was the whole and *Mankind United* was a part, he declared. He claimed that there existed a branch of the *International Institute of Universal Research and Administration* in California but did not know where its headquarters were located. He added that there was no way of corresponding with the California unit.

He admitted having attended a meeting of bureau managers "last week—last Sunday." When asked where the meeting was held, he stated "I think I will have to refuse to answer. I am under oath not to divulge that place" (p. 3216). When asked if the meeting was held in Room 210 of the St. Francis Hotel in the City of San Francisco, he again refused to answer (p. 3217).

He identified a photograph of Dr. Eugene Wadsworth Brown, manager of the *Ruth-Ann Bureau* of Los Angeles. When shown a photograph of Arthur L. Bell, he refused to identify him but stated that he would do so as "a form," or "a figure." He was willing to state that the individual portrayed in the photograph was known to him as *The Speaker*, *The Voice* and "*The Superintendent*." He was willing further to describe him as the Superintendent of the *Pacific Coast Division* but added that the *Pacific Coast Division* "has never been accurately described, excepting as we understand it is the Pacific Coast of the *International Institute of Research and Administration*." He was willing further to admit that the individual portrayed in the photograph had been present at the bureau manager's meeting in San Francisco "for a part of the meeting."

Upon being cautioned regarding his refusal to answer questions properly put to him and germane to the investigation, Sharp stated that it appeared to be "immaterial" whether he answered the questions or not as the committee apparently knew the answers anyway. He thereupon admitted having attended a meeting in Room 210 of the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco on or about April 7, 1942, and on Sunday, March 27, 1942, and March 8, 1942.

He identified a manuscript which had been taken from a shorthand transcription of a speech made by *The Voice* or *The Speaker* and admitted that its substance was familiar to him. The manuscript was entitled "*Re-Mankind United. Remarks of Arthur L. Bell, The Speaker, to approximately 250 bureau managers of Mankind United assembled in the Italian Room of the St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco, at 8.30 p.m., September 23, 1939.*"

He was familiar with the contemplated *Universal Service Corporation*, and the *Pacific Coast Registration Bureau*. He denied ever having heard of the *North American Bureau of Registrations, Classifications and Standards*. He did not know the number of people affiliated with *Mankind United* and had never heard the matter discussed. He explained that there were no "members" in the organization; that "affiliates" were known as "registrants" and "enrollees." The *A. P.*

*Burns Bureau* had 280 registrants and enrollees. He made monthly reports to the division superintendent at regular meetings. These reports were made in person to *The Speaker*. The money collected by him for the sale of books were always taken to San Francisco together with such other contributions he had received and turned over to a committee of three persons.

He recalled the exhibition of a motion picture throughout the valley entitled "*We Are Not Cattle*" and admitted having received one copy of the film. He superintended the exhibition of the film and admitted that it had been used by groups other than *Mankind United*.

The place of business for *Mankind United* in the valley was maintained in his home. He contended that the books of the organization were not kept there. He claimed that he did not have access to them except periodically and then for a very short time. He did not know where the books were kept. He contended that he did not know how or who took them to their hiding place. When pressed for an explanation, he stated that he "had a way" of contacting certain people who would bring the books to him when needed. The books were taken away after he used them and he gave instructions which were "issued in a way I do not know where they go." He contended that it was impossible to secure the books upon short notice. It would be necessary for him to notify certain people, who in turn would contact others who would know where the books were kept. When pressed for the name of the person he would first notify in order to secure the books, he appealed to the committee to protect him from the necessity of revealing the procedure by which the books were hidden. When pressed for an answer, he finally stated that he would contact his Fresno County Captain, Mrs. Winona Peters. He contended that he did not know what Mrs. Peters would do after he contacted her, or whom she would contact. He explained this procedure was necessary to protect the organization from sinister groups that were working against it.

Much of Sharp's testimony corroborated the evidence given by other witnesses in reference to the structural organization of *Mankind United* within the State of California. He stated that Fresno County's seven *Mankind United* districts had been mapped and that he had personally done the mapping. He admitted that the work of mapping had gone on throughout the entire State. The maps indicated residences of active affiliates of the organization and the residences were indicated by various colors. The inactive affiliates were shown by white-pins and the active enrollees were designated by green-pins. He admitted that he had received instructions from the division superintendent to ascertain the time it would take to go to the front or rear doors of residences in different areas and admitted that this had been done in his jurisdiction by estimation. He explained that the purpose of this record was to determine in advance the length of time it would take in case of an extreme emergency to make contact with the affiliates of the organization.

He had never heard of a Jew affiliating with *Mankind United*.

He contended that *Mankind United* was not an international organization but that the *International Institute of Universal Research and Administration* was international. He admitted, under questioning, that he had never seen or met a representative of the *International*

*Institute of Universal Research and Administration* from a foreign country.

He was familiar with T. W. Hughes' book, "*The Truth About England*" and admitted having read it. He stated that it had been circulated by individuals connected with the organization but not by the organization itself. He said that the book was derogatory to the British Empire.

He testified that he had heard it stated that the *Hidden Rulers* were responsible for the present war and that he had made such statements, with qualifications, himself.

He admitted having heard of strange mechanisms and devices in connection with *Mankind United*. He had seen statements in department bulletins to the effect that, should necessity arise, *Mankind United* would control ammunition so that it would fail to function.

He contended that the organization was opposed to Communism but that the bureau managers had never received instructions from the division superintendent to combat it. He added that it was not the objective of *Mankind United* to combat any group, but merely to mind its own business.

He conducted a meeting of the organization on the previous Wednesday and told the affiliates in attendance that they should "read between the lines" of the bulletin, particularly the bulletin issued on May 4, 1942. He explained that he had meant, by this statement, that the bulletins contained a "deep spiritual significance." He denied that he had stated that the bulletin of May 4, 1942, had been issued because of a statement allegedly made by Winston Churchill regarding the use of poison gas. He had stated, according to his testimony, that American soldiers had actually been gassed and had already returned from foreign lands. He explained that he had received this information from sources in San Francisco. He had told the audience that the warring nations were making no attempt to bomb factories or war manufacturing plants and explained that he had received this information from the bulletin issued by the division superintendent. He admitted that he had stated, in substance, that the United States was making no attempt to defend the Philippines, which was proof, in his opinion, that the leaders of the United States were not interested in the colonies and that "our leaders" would rather see the colonies taken by a foreign power and have people slaughtered rather than to grant them just rights. He admitted having stated that the air raid wardens would soon visit the homes of the people for the purpose of seeing that they were buying war bonds and stamps in sufficient quantities.

He admitted (with qualifications) most of the allegations made by Mrs. Fleming in reference to the meeting held the night before the inquiry in reference to the conduct of witnesses appearing before the committee. He stated that he had not had "a lapse of memory" so far because "it was unnecessary."

He denied that he had stated that subversive forces had caused Tokio to be bombed but admitted having said that "war forces, powers behind war, *some power*," caused Tokio to be bombed. He admitted that he had said that Tokio was bombed due to the fact that the persons responsible for the bombing wish to provoke an attack by the Japanese on the United States. He had said that an attack on the United States

would be an excuse for the *Hidden Rulers* to bring about a state of martial law and that martial law would lead to the establishment of a dictatorship in this country. He denied having ever stated that members of *Mankind United* were entrenched in high governmental positions in Washington, D. C., but admitted having stated that the organization had sources of information in *all* departments of Government.

He admitted addressing a meeting at the home of Mrs. Marks in Fresno and having stated in substance that "every day we, or our defense branch (of *Mankind United*) can do things to hold back the war effort, we are saving millions of lives."

He was acquainted with the following bureaus: *George G. Ashwell Bureau*, *A. P. Roberts Bureau*, *Sunshine Bureau*, *Faith Grace Bureau*, *Ray of Light Bureau*, *Jessie Addison Bureau*, *Hall Gardner Bureau*, *Literary Service Bureau*, *Star of the East Bureau*, *Olive Branch Bureau*, *True Equality Bureau*, *Guiding Light Bureau*, *Progressives Bureau*, *A. P. Mason Bureau*, *Kathleen Bureau*, *A. P. Burns Bureau*, *Tatum-Washburn Bureau* and the *Three Names Bureau*. The *Olive Branch Bureau* was located at 468 Perkins Street, in Oakland, and was operated by Ruby S. Lutz.

Bay Burns Sharp was recalled for examination the following day, May 23, 1942 (Volume XI, pp. 3306-3322). He produced a sheaf of mimeographed sheets, printed on a golden colored paper, and identified them as duplicates of the file in the *A. P. Burns Bureau* and stated that they were department bulletins issued by *Mankind United* and the *Pacific Coast Registration Bureau*.

He related in detail the structure of the organization and described its "centers," "districts," and "bureaus." He explained the difference between a "registrant" and an "enrollee." A "registrant," he explained, is one who became affiliated with the organization through the purchase of a book whereas an "enrollee" was one who had signified a desire to affiliate by enrolling for classes of instruction. He explained the complicated system of bookkeeping used by bureau managers and the use of colored stickers pasted before and after the names of "registrants" and "enrollees."

He had never served in the armed forces of the United States. He admitted that no particular effort had been made by the organization to encourage its members to join either the Navy or the Army. He claimed that the affiliates are instructed to comply with every law and that shortly after the enactment of the Selective Service Law, the division superintendent had issued a bulletin, ordering all affiliates to comply with the law.

When questioned regarding the so-called classes of instruction, he stated that enrollees paid \$20 for class instruction and that the classes will be held when 20,000 enrollees have been signed up. The payment of the \$20 is in expectation of taking class instruction when the required number of enrollees in a Division are attained. He stated that only one class had been released, a small group, less than the required 20,000. As far as he knew, he testified, there had never been class instructions given to 20,000.

Robert M. Schuler is a radio engineer and, at the time of testifying, was employed by the police department in the City of Fresno (Volume

XI, pp. 3330-3334). He testified that on May 21, 1942, he had been sent to 326 Peralta Way, in Fresno, and had installed equipment designed to record a conversation in that residence. He independently recalled the entire conversation and produced records and identified them. While he did not have an occasion to see the people engaged in the conversation, he testified that he had good reason to believe that they were Bay Burns Sharp and James Everett Coe.

James Everett Coe testified that he resided at 326 Peralta Way in the City of Fresno (Volume XI, pp. 3322-3329). He testified that he was acquainted with Bay Burns Sharp and had known him since April of 1942. He had never affiliated with the *Mankind United* movement but had attended its meetings from time to time. He stated that he had heard Mr. Sharp, in various meetings, remark that the organization of *Mankind United* was in the process of "throwing monkey wrenches" into the machinery of the United States war effort.

He recalled meeting with Sharp in his home on Thursday, May 21, 1942. He stated that only Sharp and himself were present. The conversation between them lasted a little over an hour and a half. He said that Sharp discussed the war effort of the United States with him and made certain derogatory statements concerning the armed forces of the country. He reiterated many of the statements attributed to Sharp by witnesses who had already testified.

At this point of the proceedings, Robert M. Schuler, of the police department of the City of Fresno, played the records taken of the conversation between Sharp and Coe. The following are quotations from the recordings:

"\* \* \* when we realize that our own Nation is doing nothing in the world to bring about peace; that it has no intention of doing anything to bring about peace, one begins to realize many things. \* \* \* Our own Chief Executive wants to fight through to the limit, even though it means poverty and suffering and death for us right at home \* \* \*."

"We have no protection from our own government. \* \* \* We have nothing to protect ourselves with; it has all been shipped out, all been given away \* \* \*."

"We have nothing to protect ourselves with. San Francisco could be bombed any time, Los Angeles, Fresno, any other town \* \* \*. We have no fighter planes whatever \* \* \*. When you analyze the whole thing, you see that we are not trying to stop the war. We are only trying to keep it going \* \* \*."

Sharp told Coe that at the time of the first World War, over 90 per cent of the farms throughout the United States were privately owned by the individual farmer, but that today, as a matter of fact, as long as 10 years ago, less than 10 per cent of the farm land was privately owned in the United States. All "they" need to do, he stated, to enslave us is to own the land, which they will do and are doing by manipulating money, so-called, to impoverish the people. When a man puts \$18.75 in a \$25 Bond, the dollar will become valueless.

"Consequently," he said, "if and when the government ever does repay the \$25, that \$25 will be valueless." He stated in substance that the bonds, in time, would not be worth the paper they were written on. "As a matter of fact," he added, "it is today, as you can't cash it in today, but the time will come when it will be absolutely rescinded, extended."

In response to a question from Coe concerning the term "they," Sharp replied: "Subversive forces, the world's hidden rulers, a group of people that amount to a limited number of families in whose hands is the absolute control of the financial structure of all the world, not only in the United States but the world." He further elaborated on this subject by stating that five individuals control and dictate to all other dictators. He added that these five individuals dictate when wars are to be fought, what the purpose of the war is to be and how it is to be handled. He stated that the National Government of the United States is not a government of the people, or "representative of the people." He stated that a Congressman, even though he desired to do everything for the people, found that when he arrived in Washington that his hands were tied.

He stated that if, by any chance, the organization (*Mankind United*) should fail to complete its job, that the tempo of killing would increase so rapidly that it would be "right here upon us." "It is only the defensive branch of our organization that has kept that from happening since 1937. When the quota is reached, and when 'they' have the financial backing with which to bring into the territory equipment already prepared; when they have 2,048 new bureaus trained to receive and use the equipment," then nothing in the world can stop "them."

He outlined the "thirty-day program" and described it as a worldwide election. He stated that "the organization" was ready to act, both in Germany and in Russia. He told of the special radio attachment which will be used to enable affiliates to tune in on the broadcast for the "thirty-day program" and stated that certain other equipment would also be released to the 2,048 bureau managers.

Coe desired to know what would happen if, becoming a bureau manager, he then was drafted. Sharp assured him that it would take some time for training before he would be sent out of the country and that before that happened, the program of *Mankind United* would be on. Sharp stated that within 60 days following the completion of the bureaus that the "thirty-day program" could be expected. He explained that it was very doubtful if Coe would ever be called by the draft board in May because the draft board's plans had been "somewhat obstructed." He explained that the organization was delaying, "holding them up, delaying them—delaying the machinery of the war board, the war—not the production of the material or anything of that kind, just setting monkey wrenches in the way of the plans of the coordinators." He pointed out that "throwing wrenches into the war activity" was probably the best trained branch of the organization and one that had been operating for many years. He claimed that the organization had mechanical means for "protecting" itself. He told Coe that it possessed a power that might be described as "*different rays*" and that these "*rays*" could be sent great distances and then exploded.

He stated that when the "thirty-day program" got under way that nothing in the world would be able to stop it. When the program started the war would come to an end and any soldier who refused to carry out the order ending the war would find that the shells in his gun would not fire. The war would be stopped, Sharp reiterated, even if it became necessary for the organization to use the mysterious powers in its possession. If people should refuse to listen to reason, Sharp elaborated, *The Sponsors* always had an ace up their sleeve and if they had sufficient support behind them, they would not hesitate to use it. All that was needed was 20,000 people who would sign up to take the classes and to buy the books in California.

The transcription of the conversation between Coe and Sharp brought out clearly most of the allegations made concerning Sharp and his activities as the bureau manager for Fresno County.

## 4

**MANKIND UNITED IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA**

Orlando Meniketti is an accordion teacher in San Francisco (Volume V, pp. 1494-1501). He testified that Arthur L. Bell had come to his place of business in Oakland several years before and had arranged to take accordion lessons. After Bell had taken some lessons, he asked Meniketti for the use of his students list. Bell told him about a race of little men with metallic heads who lived in the center of the earth controlling earthquakes and floods and who had the power to "snuff us out like that." (Meniketti snapped his fingers to illustrate what Bell meant.) He stated that Bell was a very mysterious and dreamy sort of individual. He had told Meniketti of journeys he had taken while asleep, and, among other things, told him that he had been responsible for *Technocracy*.

Meniketti concluded his testimony by stating that Bell had not been a very good music student.

Willard E. Franke had appeared very anxious to testify concerning *Mankind United* and Arthur L. Bell until called to the stand December 2, 1941 (Volume V, pp. 1464-1471). He stated that he had been connected with the organization and had met Arthur L. Bell in Oakland. He became very frightened as he testified and was obviously afraid to admit knowing Bell, or in saying anything further. He finally admitted that he had been a bureau manager and had contracted to dispose of 500 copies of the book "*Mankind United*." He apparently had done so and was given a ring as a reward.

Referring to Arthur L. Bell who was present in the hearing room, he stated, "this man here is not the same man" that he had met as Arthur L. Bell in Oakland.

He had previously written a letter exposing Arthur L. Bell as a "scheming promoter" and when the letter was shown to him on the witness stand he refused to identify it, and stated that he did not write it. He became evasive and more frightened. He admitted having written another letter in which he had agreed to turn over certain information. He finally admitted having said in a letter that Bell had a "million dollar racket" and that "Al Capone was a piker compared to Bell." He explained that he was very angry at the time he wrote it.

He admitted knowing George Ashwell and stated that he had sent him a check for \$300 for the last consignment of *Mankind United* books. The check was sent to Department A, *International Registration Bureau*. He had put \$100 or more in the organization.

When asked his opinion concerning the trips Bell was alleged to have taken when asleep, he answered: "Who knows? They can be true."

When Franke was excused from the witness stand, he approached the committee and stated half apologetically: "After all he may be able to do the things they say he does."

Guy McKinley Wright was once a "center manager" for *Mankind United* at 529 Adams Road in Oakland (Volume VI, pp. 1758-1767). He had served in this capacity for a little over four years and was acquainted with Arthur L. Bell and George Ashwell. He had sold several *Mankind United* books and had turned the funds over to the bureau manager. He believed that the manager kept half of the funds. He stated that the bureau manager bought the books for \$1.25 each and sold them for \$2.50. He became a "lieutenant" to the bureau manager.

He declared that many elderly people had been attracted to the organization and stated that he felt very sorry for some of them. The talk of stopping war and creating a world based on love and kindness was emphasized by the speaker, particularly at large meetings when five or six thousand people were in attendance. The old people sold their valuables, cashed life insurance policies and raised money in every way possible to contribute it to the organization so that a world in which mankind would be united could soon be realized. The great day had once been set for April 29, 1939, and when the promised Utopia failed to materialize, many of the supporters of the organization lost heart. Wright considered the organization a cruel racket to obtain money.

In 1937 a dozen bureaus existed in the East Bay with thousands of members. Many people had bought "centers" in the bureaus which amounted to contracting for a number of books which they agreed to distribute. The price of a "center" was \$62.50 and many people bought a number of them. A great deal of money was spent in preparing the meeting halls and in getting ready for "the wonderful time" when there would be "music in the air" and "certain codes would come through little gadgets and the *International Headquarters* would speak to everyone who was properly equipped." The "gadget" was to be attached to an ordinary radio receiving set. Wright stated that he had never seen one of them. College professors, doctors, lawyers, dentists and many apparently intelligent people had been taken in by the "hokus-pokus." He claimed that one man from the University of California was one of its most sincere workers. He believed that the people had been hypnotized.

Around Christmas time in 1938 the members of *Mankind United* were informed that there existed 176,000,000 members in the world and that when this number was augmented to 200,000,000 the *millenium* would arrive. The day was set for the following Easter and eternally postponed from that day to other days while the money kept rolling in, and the people went down to poverty.

He told the committee of renting a summer home with his son and spending between \$35 and \$40 in fixing it up in readiness for the

mysterious radio program and stated that many people did similar "silly things."

The book "*Mankind United*" was issued in many different "editions" and each edition varied but slightly from those preceding it. Everyone had to buy a new edition to replace the old one, thus exploiting those who were already working in the movement. He stated that one "edition" contained the change of but three words.

No one was permitted to know Arthur L. Bell and the members were forbidden to even pronounce his name. Bell had warned everyone, including George Ashwell and other close "lieutenants," that they must not come near the platform when he was speaking. Wright stated that Bell placed himself "just a little above God Almighty." He believed that the bureau managers had become hypnotized by Bell and that they actually believed the tales that were rumored concerning Bell's mysterious disappearances and journeys to far places.

He recalled a meeting of *Mankind United* at the San Francisco Civic Auditorium. There were some 7,500 in attendance. The purpose of the meeting was to inform the members of the postponement of the millenium from Christmas, 1938, to Easter of 1939. Wright stated: "I saw more downhearted people than I ever saw in my life before, including in the World War." Many old people felt that they would not live to see the millenium and they "wobbled out of the building almost fainting."

He claimed that Bell ridiculed other orthodox religious beliefs, the Catholics and Christian Scientists in particular.

He recalled a little old lady who had sat beside him in the meeting of May 20, 1939, and who had spoken in awed tones of *Mankind United* as a movement of "love and kindness." Some people had put several thousand dollars into the movement and many old people were left with nothing to live on with a life expectancy of less than 10 years. "Bell bled the people dry of their money," Wright contended, and then told them that it might be 1951 before the millenium would arrive. He once had challenged the bureau managers and asked them why they did not corner Bell and force him to prove the existence of the radio "gadget." He stated that the bureau managers replied that they had faith in Bell and that Bell had faith in his superiors and so all the way up to the *International Headquarters*. When Wright asked them "Where are those *International Headquarters*?" the bureau managers had replied, "underground."

The last meeting attended by Wright was on either the fifteenth or the twenty-second of June, 1939. He said he just "dropped out" after that.

P. J. Cardoza was engaged in the bookbinding business in the City of San Francisco (Volume V, pp. 1350-1360). He testified that he had bound the "*Mankind United*" books for Arthur L. Bell since 1936. Bell had always paid in cash, he said, and always picked the books up personally, instead of having them delivered. He had no difficulty in readily identifying Bell who was in audience at the hearing room. The last job he had done for Bell was on February 8, 1941.

He listed the amounts collected from Bell for binding the books as follows:

1936 -----	\$448.00
1937 -----	1,576.97
1938 -----	13,094.00
1939 (approximate)-----	21,000.00
1940 -----	1,740.00
1941 (incomplete)-----	1,610.00

George Governeur Ashwell was the manager of the *George Ashwell Bureau of Mankind United* (Volume V, pp. 1509-1542). He testified that Arthur L. Bell was known throughout the organization as *The Speaker* and that he was never referred to by name. He stated that he had heard him referred to as *The Voice of a Right Idea*. He admitted that he had once operated the *44834 Discussion Club* in connection with his bureau at 26 O'Farrell Street in San Francisco but that the club no longer exists. He explained that the name of the club was taken from the time necessary for one to earn his keep in a model society—4 hours a day, 4 days a week, eight months a year, and added that *the rest is a mystery*.

He claimed that the *Mankind United* system was based on Christian principles. He testified as to the sale of the books and the system governing "registrants" and "enrollees." He claimed that he used his own money to live on and did not make much out of the organization.

He stated that he had heard of Arthur L. Bell's mysterious trips and that he believed them. He contended that a great mystery surrounds *The Voice* and that it is done for his protection because he is "a great leader of mankind" and therefore his life is always in jeopardy.

He offered into the committee's records a copy of a *Fortune Magazine* article pertaining to "Arms and the Men," from which he contended the picture, "*Dealers in Death*" was made.

He said that he regarded patriotic organizations as "stuffed pillows."

He explained that important people in the *Mankind United* movement are able to identify each other with symbols and that their credentials consist of such indicia as torn postage stamps, etc.

#### THE VOICE

Arthur Lowber Bell could not be completely sure that he was appearing before the committee in person or whether he might be one of his doubles (Vol. V, pp. 1361-1428; 1447-1463). He spoke in a soft, confident and faintly tolerant manner. He explained that "doubles" had been prepared for him and were substituted for him in the conduct of his business because of the heavy schedule that had been imposed upon him. He stated that the "doubles" received their orders from his superiors in the organization and that he could not give their identities. With the assistance of his "doubles" he was enabled to be in many places at the same time. The members of the committee had hardly recovered from the shock of this statement when Bell sent them reeling again by blandly stating that he was often placed in a coma by his "superiors" and, while in that condition, whisked to various points in

the world where his presence was required. He illustrated this statement specifically by relating an instance when he lost consciousness in San Francisco and recovered aboard a British merchant vessel in mid-Atlantic a short time later.

He claimed that he had been connected with *Mankind United* for about 22 years. He identified the *International Institute of Universal Research and Administration* as one of the affiliates of *Mankind United*, and explained that it was formerly known as the *International Legion of Vigilantes in California*, prior to 1934. The *Pacific Coast Division of International Registration Bureau* was also identified as one of *Mankind United's* organizations. He was familiar with the *International Discussion Club*, or *International 44834 Club* of 26 O'Farrell Street in San Francisco. He stated that it was no longer active. He identified several *Mankind United* bureaus and admitted that he had had something to do with the establishment of each. He claimed that the organization was world-wide but became very vague concerning bureaus outside of California. He named the *Donaldson Printing Company* as the printers for *Mankind United* books and admitted that the books had been bound by the *Cardoza Bindery*. He identified several bulletins, forms, pamphlets and manuals of the organization. He admitted that *Mankind United* had advertised and exhibited the picture, "*Dealers in Death*," but denied any knowledge of the same film having been used by the Communist Party and *German-American Bund* units in California.

He outlined membership qualifications and the details of training members. He stated that applicants paid \$20 for a "course of instruction" and admitted that only one lesson had been given in California so far. Applicants receive "a great many instructions" and a "field kit" containing manuals, etc., he added.

He was willing to admit that over 150,000 volumes of the *Mankind United* book had been sold, or given away. Seventy thousand had sold for the tidy sum of \$97,500 during 1939. Many of the books were sold through the organization's bureaus and the bureau managers retained half of the sales price. He claimed that he made no profit from the books but that a deficit remained to him which was met by his relatives. The records, he explained, had become "tangled" as a result of Federal investigations. He stated that the *Timely Books Bureau* was one of *Mankind United's* organizations and denied that it had any connection with "*Sound Money Press*."

He explained that the leaders of *Mankind United* must remain anonymous for their personal protection and the organization from attacks by "subversive influences." He met the leaders and sponsors of the organization from time to time but claimed that they had so altered their voices and appearances that they could not be described. He claimed that he did not know their names. He received all instructions from this mysterious source. He frankly admitted that the chief objective of the organization was to render all instruments of war useless but that this great plan would not be put into effect until a certain number of members had affiliated with the organization. He claimed that there were Communists working in the post offices throughout the country and for this reason *Mankind United* had been compelled to devise its own system of communications and no longer used the United States mails.

He told of receiving messages on the train while traveling up and down the Pacific Coast and told of once being awakened in his Pullman berth. He explained his unique method of travel; how he went to sleep and woke up in a foreign country. He claimed that he could make a round trip to China, for instance, in a matter of a few hours. He never bothered to use passports or other conventional methods while traveling. He became very specific in reference to the mid-Atlantic episode. It was on the day that war was declared on England, September 3, 1939. He merely went to sleep in San Francisco and woke up on the Steamer, *City of Richmond* in the mid-Atlantic. He explained that he took "vital records" from a *Mankind United* messenger and changed places with one of the regular passengers so that his presence was not noted. He could not explain the mechanism of these mysterious trips. He once brought back a large amount of luggage, 18 or 20 trunks, which were not inspected by customs officials. He was informed by "message" that war was to be declared and ordered to pick up important documents. He claimed he had been making these "Magic Carpet" trips for the last 20 years.

He explained tolerantly that machines had been developed by certain agencies which were capable of vibrating the eyes out of the sockets of persons within a radius of 100 miles and that large power plants could be created that would exterminate "1,000,000,000 persons." He calmly stated that *Mankind United* intended to destroy this type of machinery by methods now being perfected.

He claimed that he had used over 200 names during his various travels (p. 1447).

He could not recall ever depositing funds in any bank in the City of San Francisco. If funds had been deposited credited to him, he stated, it might have been done by one of his many "doubles."

When questioned by Assemblyman Kellems as to the source and explanation of his mysterious powers, he replied that he could no more expect the members of the committee to understand his methods and powers than to expect an African savage to understand a radio.

He claimed that his wife, Ruby V. Bell, sometimes accompanied him on his mysterious trips. He added that she was not, however, connected with his work.

He concluded his testimony by offering into the committee's records a letter from Senator Gerald P. Nye in which the Senator praised the motion picture "*Dealers in Death*."

The committee started the investigation of *Mankind United* before the bombing of Pearl Harbor. A number of witnesses were questioned and a mass of documentary evidence was analyzed by the committee and its representatives. It appeared to be a racket of considerable magnitude but the members of the committee were not convinced at that time that the organization was engaged in out and out un-American activities. It all was good business, of course, for Arthur Lowber Bell and as *The Speaker* or *The Voice* he continued to live in splendor in his residence in the exclusive Cathedral Apartments atop San Francisco's Knob Hill at the expense of the poor people he was hoaxing and victimizing.

When the committee learned of the activity of the bureaus of *Mankind United* shortly after Pearl Harbor, the laying in of supplies of

food and clothing, blankets and water in sealed containers, the mapping of cities showing airplane factories, shipyards, police and radio stations, hospitals, tunnels, railroad lines and bridges, the committee decided to look closely into the matter. From that time the committee and its investigators were convinced of the seditious character of the organization and cooperated closely with agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in ferreting out the facts concerning the bureaus, its managers and members. The result of this close cooperation has resulted in the indictment by a Federal Grand Jury of Arthur L. Bell, George G. Ashwell, Harold Von Norris, Max Miller, Jacob Gloecker, Eugene Wadsworth Brown, Shanna Jakeman, A. Ray Elsea, B. B. Sharp, Homer G. Wilcox, Lawrence Cook, Maude Askew, Pauline Kelso, J. F. Burke and Ed Gilson.

## PART VIII

### RECOMMENDATIONS

The committee finds that Communism, Nasiism, and Fascism are distinguished one from the other only in minor details. Each *ism* is fully as subversive and un-American as the other. The committee finds that all three *isms* have been directed and subsidized by foreign governments. The committee finds that the sympathies of the adherents of the three groups are whole-heartedly with the foreign government to which they owe their allegiance. The committee finds that the philosophies, activities and objectives of all three groups are inimical to the Constitution, Democracy and traditions of the United States. The committee finds that the *Communist Party*, the *German-American Bund* and the *Fascist* organizations in the United States have a common objective in the destruction of our form of Government by sabotage, force and violence. The general and ultimate objective of the three groups is the substitution of the totalitarianism of their respective fatherlands for our constitutional Democracy.

It should be emphasized that the committee has barely scratched the surface of subversive activities in California. The members of the committee and the committee's attaches have labored diligently, and in many cases at their own expense, in ferreting out the facts. Due to lack of funds members of the committee traveled to Los Angeles in the latter part of 1942 at their own expense in order to conduct hearings on certain phases of the investigation. The committee, during its existence, has continually been under the handicap of insufficient attaches to carry on compilation, filing and coordination of evidence and material. In spite of these handicaps, the committee has gathered voluminous evidence, as this report indicates.

The *very existence* of a committee such as the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California has acted as a deterrent to un-American groups and, to some extent, has served as a brake to more brazen and open activities against the Government and our institutions. An energetic and active committee in this field is the greatest bulwark of protection for Americanism and Democracy. Subversive organizations wither and die under the glaring light of publicity. The *Communists*, the *Nazis* and the *Fascists* have little influence among Americans who are *aware* of their tactics and objectives.

All of these *isms* will live after the war. The *Nazis* and the *Fascists* may be beaten on the battlefields but the vicious and inhuman ideas they have unleashed will live to plague the world after their originators have disappeared. Communism will be activating the minds of ignorant men and women, offering escapes to frustrated and inferiority-complexed people who grope through fogs of confused thinking hopelessly seeking a place in a topsy-turvy world of their own making. Those of us who cherish our American traditions, the Constitution and the American Way of Life, dare not relinquish, through smug apathy,

all that our forefathers have established for us. Eternal vigilance is the price we must pay.

New *fronts* will replace the old ones and new leaders will carry on the activities of the Browders, the Kunzes and the Schwinns. New "lines" will be projected tomorrow. *We must be vigilant!*

Your committee therefore recommends:

1. That a similar committee be empowered and authorized to function for 1943 and 1944. It recommends that sufficient funds be appropriated to provide an adequate staff of attaches and competent investigators.
2. Enactment of a State law to prohibit any person in California from knowingly participating in the activities of any organization receiving financial support from a foreign government.
3. Exerting influence on Congress to deny citizenship to any person born in the United States who is subject to dual citizenship in the country of his or her parents' birth.
4. Strengthening the act of 1940 denying the Primary Ballot to subversive political organizations such as the Communist Party.
5. Strict enforcement of the Subversive Registration Act of 1941.
6. Enactment of legislation prohibiting any person not eligible to United States citizenship from commercial fishing off the coast of California.
7. Enactment of legislation providing for the disbarment of attorneys who are members of the Communist Party or other subversive and un-American groups.
8. Legislation authorizing and mandating governing boards of all professions to exercise disciplinary action including the revocation of licenses of members of the respective professions who are members of subversive and un-American groups.
9. Enactment of legislation charging the State Board of Education with the responsibility of investigating complaints filed against members of the teaching profession holding credentials issued by the State Board where such members are charged with being members of, or participating in, subversive and un-American activities.
10. Establishment by law of a rebuttable presumption of subversive and un-American activities in accord with established historical policies and "lines" of subversive groups and organizations.
11. Enactment of legislation to provide procedure for the ousting of subversive employees from civil service status in the Government of California.
12. Memorialize Congress to cancel the citizenship of any former alien who, since receiving citizenship, has been a member of any subversive organization.
13. Enactment of State legislation prohibiting aliens from holding elected or appointed offices in any labor union within the territorial boundaries of California.
14. Enactment of legislation designed to supervise and censor foreign language broadcasts and the foreign language press.

15. Enactment of appropriate legislation prohibiting any person who is a member or affiliated with any organization or group dominated by a foreign government or which advocates the undermining, weakening or the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, from occupying any office or position, supported in whole or in part by public funds in the State of California.

16. Enactment of legislation providing for the right of private industry, engaged wholly or in part in the production of armaments or other materials essential to the war effort or our National defense, to discharge any known, proven or admitted persons connected with the *Communist Party*, the *Nazi Bund*, *Fascist* organizations or other groups whose objectives are inimical to the United States.

17. Recommended to Congress that pro-Axis Japanese in the various camps be segregated and that the control of all Japanese activities be placed in the hands of the United States Army for the duration of the war.

18. That State legislation be enacted mandating compulsory courses of Americanism in the tax-supported schools of the State emphasizing American history, American heroes and leaders and its traditions contrasted with the techniques, tactics and totalitarian objectives of the vicious *isms* extant in the world today.

19. Enactment of State legislation bringing all foreign language schools under the strict supervision and control of the State Board of Education.

In concluding, the committee wishes to reiterate what it stated in the beginning of this report. We are fighting a *total* war. We should demand nothing less than *total* victory. It is the responsibility of the Legislature to enact suitable laws for the protection of the community, the State and Nation from subversive attack and sabotage, *but laws are not enough*. We must instill a *fighting faith* in our people if our Democracy, our Flag, our Constitution and our American Way of Life are to be preserved for posterity.

Respectfully submitted.

JACK B. TENNEY, Chairman

HUGH M. BURNS

NELSON S. DILWORTH

JESSE RANDOLPH KELLEMS, Ph.D.

JAMES H. PHILLIPS.

## APPENDIX A

### Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13

#### CHAPTER 28

*Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13—Relative to the creation of a Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California to investigate the activities of persons and groups known or suspected to be foreign dominated or controlled and recommend legislation for their regulation.*

[FILED WITH SECRETARY OF STATE JANUARY 27, 1941]

WHEREAS, These are times of public danger. Subversive persons and groups are endangering our domestic unity so as to leave us unprepared to resist aggression. Under color of the protection afforded by the Bill of Rights these persons and groups seek to destroy our liberties and our freedom by force, threats and sabotage and to subject us to the domination of foreign powers.

Recent announcements by responsible officials of the Federal Government indicate the seriousness of the problem. In his message to the Congress on January 3, 1941, the President said: "The first phase of the invasion of this hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes—and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America." State legislation to meet the problem and to assist law enforcement officers can best be based on a thorough and impartial investigation by a competent and active legislative committee; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Assembly of the State of California, the Senate thereof concurring,* That there is hereby created a Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California which shall investigate, ascertain, collate and appraise all facts causing or constituting interference with the National defense program in California or rendering the people of the State, as a part of the Nation, less fit physically, mentally, morally, economically or socially; and be it further

*Resolved,* That in addition to other duties imposed upon the committee, the committee shall investigate the activities of groups and organizations whose membership includes persons who are members of the Communist Party, the Fascist organizations, the German Nazi Bund, or any other organization known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power, which activities affect the preparation of this State for National defense, the functioning of any State agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions of this State supported in whole or in part by State funds, or any political program; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the committee shall consist of four members of the Assembly, appointed by the Speaker thereof; and three members of

the Senate appointed by the Committee on Rules thereof; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the committee hereby created in exercising the powers and performing the functions vested in it by this resolution shall have: (i) all the powers conferred upon legislative committees by Article 8, Chapter 2, Title 1, Part 3 of the Political Code; (ii) except when inconsistent with this resolution, all the powers conferred upon committees by the Rules of the Assembly, the Rules of the Senate, and the Joint Rules of the Senate and Assembly as they are enacted and amended from time to time and such rules are hereby incorporated herein and made a part hereof the same as if they were set forth in this resolution in full. The powers specified in such rules may be exercised by the committee after the final adjournment of this session; (iii) all powers necessary or convenient to accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution, including but not limited to the following duties and powers:

- (1) To select a chairman from its membership and to employ and fix the compensation of a secretary and such clerical, expert and technical assistants as it may deem necessary;
- (2) To create subcommittees from its membership, assigning to the subcommittee any study, inquiry, investigation or hearing which the committee itself has authority to undertake or hold, and the subcommittee for the purpose of this assignment shall have and exercise all of the powers conferred upon the committee limited by the express terms of the resolution or resolutions of the latter defining the powers and duties of the subcommittee, which powers may be withdrawn or terminated at any time by the committee;
- (3) To adopt and from time to time amend such rules governing its procedure (including the fixing of its own quorum and the number of votes necessary to take action on any matter) as may to it appear appropriate;
- (4) To contract with such other agencies, public or private, as it deems necessary for the rendition and affording of such services, facilities, studies and reports to the committee as will best assist it to carry out the purposes for which it is created;
- (5) To hold public hearings at any place in California at which hearings the people are to have an opportunity to present their views to the committee;
- (6) To make a complete study, survey and investigation of every phase of the subject of this resolution, including but not limited to the operation, effect, administration, enforcement, and needed revision of any and all laws in anywise bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution;
- (7) To meet at any and all places in this State, in public or executive session;
- (8) To act during this session of the Legislature, including any recess hereof, and after final adjournment hereof, until the commencement of the Fifty-fifth Legislature;
- (9) To file a report with the Legislature during any session of the Fifty-fourth Legislature and with the Legislature during the regular session of the Fifty-fifth Legislature;

(10) To summon and subpoena witnesses, require the production of papers, books, accounts, reports, documents, and records of every kind and description, to issue subpoenas and to take all necessary means to compel the attendance of witnesses and procure testimony; and

(11) To do any and all other things necessary or convenient to enable it fully and adequately to exercise its powers, perform its duties, and accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the committee, each of its members, and any representative of the committee thereunto authorized by the committee or by its chairman, is authorized and empowered to administer oaths; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Assembly, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, or other officers designated by either of them are hereby directed to serve any and all subpoenas, orders and other process issued by the committee, when directed so to do by the chairman or by a majority of the membership of the committee; and be it further

*Resolved*, That every department, commission, board, agency, officer and employee of the State Government, including the Legislative Counsel, the Attorney General and their subordinates, and of any political subdivision, county, city, or public district of or in this State shall furnish the committee and any subcommittee, upon request, any and all such assistance, and information, records and documents as the committee or subcommittee deems proper for the accomplishment of the purposes for which the committee is created; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the members of the committee shall serve without compensation but shall be allowed mileage at the rate of five and one-half cents (\$0.05 $\frac{1}{2}$ ) per mile each way incurred in connection with their services upon the committee and other actual and necessary expenses for living accommodations and meals, incurred in connection with their services upon the committee, or in lieu of such expenses for accommodation and meals an allowance of eight dollars (\$8) per day; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the sum of ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) or so much thereof as may be necessary is hereby made available from the Contingent Funds of the Senate and of the Assembly for the expenses of the committee and its members and for any charges, expenses or claims it may incur under this resolution, to be paid equally from the Contingent Funds of the Senate and of the Assembly and disbursed, after certification by the chairman of the committee, upon warrants drawn by the State Controller upon the State Treasurer.

## APPENDIX B

### House Resolution No. 277

(Assembly Journal, 1941, page 4328)  
[Adopted June 13, 1941]

*Relative to the creation of an Assembly Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California to investigate the activities of persons and groups known or suspected to be foreign dominated or controlled and recommend legislation for their regulation..*

WHEREAS, These are times of public danger. Subversive persons and groups are endangering our domestic unity so as to leave us unprepared to resist aggression. Under color of the protection afforded by the Bill of Rights these persons and groups seek to destroy our liberties and our freedom by force, threats and sabotage and to subject us to the domination of foreign powers.

Recent announcements by responsible officials of the Federal Government indicate the seriousness of the problem. In his message to the Congress on January 3, 1941, the President said: "The first phase of the invasion of this hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes—and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America." State legislation to meet the problem and to assist law enforcement officers can best be based on a thorough and impartial investigation by a competent and active legislative committee; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Assembly of the State of California,* That there is hereby created an Assembly Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California which shall investigate, ascertain, collate and appraise all facts causing or constituting interference with the National Defense Program in California or rendering the people of the State, as a part of the Nation, less fit physically, mentally, morally, economically or socially; and be it further

*Resolved,* That in addition to other duties imposed upon the committee, the committee shall investigate the activities of groups and organizations whose membership includes persons who are members of the Communist Party, the Fascist organizations, the German Nazi Bund, or any other organization known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power, which activities affect the preparation of this State for National defense, the functioning of any State agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions of this State supported in whole or in part by State funds, or any political program; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the committee shall consist of five members of the Assembly, appointed by the Speaker; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the committee shall continue the work of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California, created by Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 13; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the committee hereby created in exercising the powers and performing the functions vested in it by this resolution shall have: (i) all the powers conferred upon legislative committees by Article 8, Chapter 2, Title 1, Part 3 of the Political Code; (ii) except when inconsistent with this resolution, all the powers conferred upon committees by the Rules of the Assembly, the Rules of the Senate, and the Joint Rules of the Senate and Assembly as they are enacted and amended from time to time and such rules are hereby incorporated herein and made a part hereof the same as if they were set forth in this resolution in full. The powers specified in such rules may be exercised by the committee after the final adjournment of this session; (iii) all powers necessary or convenient to accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution, including but not limited to the following duties and powers:

(1) To select a chairman from its membership and to employ and fix the compensation of a secretary and such clerical, expert and technical assistants as it may deem necessary;

(2) To create subcommittees from its membership, assigning to the subcommittee any study, inquiry, investigation or hearing which the committee itself has authority to undertake or hold, and the subcommittee for the purpose of this assignment shall have and exercise all of the powers conferred upon the committee limited by the express terms of the resolution or resolutions of the latter defining the powers and duties of the subcommittee, which powers may be withdrawn or terminated at any time by the committee;

(3) To adopt and from time to time amend such rules governing its procedure (including the fixing of its own quorum and the number of votes necessary to take action on any matter) as may to it appear appropriate;

(4) To contract with such other agencies, public or private, as it deems necessary for the rendition and affording of such services, facilities, studies and reports to the committee as will best assist it to carry out the purposes for which it is created;

(5) To hold public hearings at any place in California at which hearings the people are to have an opportunity to present their views to the committee;

(6) To make a complete study, survey and investigation of every phase of the subject of this resolution, including but not limited to the operation, effect, administration, enforcement, and needed revision of any and all laws in anywise bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution;

(7) To meet at any and all places in this State, in public or executive session;

(8) To act during this session of the Legislature, including any recess hereof, and after final adjournment hereof, until the commencement of the Fifty-fifth Legislature;

(9) To file a report with the Legislature during any session of the Fifty-fourth Legislature and with the Legislature during the regular session of the Fifty-fifth Legislature;

(10) To summon and subpoena witnesses, require the production of papers, books, accounts, reports, documents, and records of every kind and description, to issue subpoenas and to take all necessary means to compel the attendance of witnesses and procure testimony; and

(11) To do any and all other things necessary or convenient to enable it fully and adequately to exercise its powers, perform its duties, and accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the committee, each of its members, and any representative of the committee thereunto authorized by the committee or by its chairman, is authorized and empowered to administer oaths; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Assembly, or other officers designated by him are hereby directed to serve any and all subpoenas, orders and other process issued by the committee, when directed so to do by the chairman or by a majority of the membership of the committee; and be it further

*Resolved*, That every department, commission, board, agency, officer and employee of the State Government, including the Legislative Counsel, the Attorney General and their subordinates, and of any political subdivision, county, city, or public district of or in this State shall furnish the committee and any subcommittee, upon request, any and all such assistance, and information, records and documents as the committee or subcommittee deems proper for the accomplishment of the purposes for which the committee is created; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the members of the committee shall serve without compensation but shall be allowed mileage at the rate of five and one-half cents (\$0.05½) per mile each way incurred in connection with their services upon the committee and other actual and necessary expenses for living accommodations and meals, incurred in connection with their services upon the committee, or in lieu of such expenses for accommodations and meals an allowance of eight dollars (\$8) per day; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the sum of fifteen thousand dollars (\$15,000) or so much thereof as may be necessary is hereby made available from the Contingent Fund of the Assembly for the expenses of the committee and its members, and for any charges, expenses or claims it may incur under this resolution, to be paid from the Contingent Fund of the Assembly and disbursed, after certification by the chairman of the committee, upon warrants drawn by the State Controller upon the State Treasurer.

## APPENDIX C

### Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 8

#### CHAPTER 37

*Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 8—Relative to the creation of a Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California to investigate the activities of persons and groups known or suspected to be foreign dominated or controlled and recommend legislation for their regulation.*

[FILED with Secretary of State January 30, 1943]

WHEREAS, These are times of public danger. Subversive persons and groups are endangering our domestic unity so as to leave us unprepared to resist aggression. Under color of the protection afforded by the Bill of Rights these persons and groups seek to destroy our liberties and our freedom by force, threats and sabotage and to subject us to the domination of foreign powers.

State legislation to meet the problem and to assist law enforcement officers can best be based on a thorough and impartial investigation by a competent and active legislative committee; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate of the State of California, the Assembly thereof concurring,* That there is hereby created a Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California which shall investigate, ascertain, collate and appraise all facts causing or constituting interference with the National defense program in California or rendering the people of the State, as a part of the Nation, less fit physically, mentally, morally, economically or socially; and be it further

*Resolved,* That in addition to other duties imposed upon the committee, the committee shall investigate the activities of groups and organizations whose membership includes persons who are members of the Communist Party, the Fascist organizations, the German Nazi Bund, or any other organization known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power, which activities affect the conduct of this State in National defense, the functioning of any State agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions of this State supported in whole or in part by State funds, or any political program; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the committee shall consist of three members of the Assembly, appointed by the Speaker thereof; and two members of the Senate appointed by the Committee on Rules thereof; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the committee hereby created in exercising the powers and performing the functions vested in it by this resolution shall have: (i) all the powers conferred upon legislative committees by Article 8, Chapter 2, Title 1, Part 3 of the Political Code; (ii) except

when inconsistent with this resolution, all the powers conferred upon committees by the Rules of the Assembly, the Rules of the Senate, and the Joint Rules of the Senate and Assembly as they are enacted and amended from time to time and such rules are hereby incorporated herein and made a part hereof the same as if they were set forth in this resolution in full; (iii) all powers necessary or convenient to accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution, including but not limited to the following duties and powers:

- (1) To select a chairman from its membership and to employ and fix the compensation of a secretary and such clerical, expert and technical assistants as it may deem necessary;
- (2) To create subcommittees from its membership, assigning to the subcommittee any study, inquiry, investigation or hearing which the committee itself has authority to undertake or hold, and the subcommittee for the purpose of this assignment shall have and exercise all of the powers conferred upon the committee limited by the express terms of the resolution or resolutions of the latter defining the powers and duties of the subcommittee, which powers may be withdrawn or terminated at any time by the committee;
- (3) To adopt and from time to time amend such rules governing its procedure (including the fixing of its own quorum and the number of votes necessary to take action on any matter) as may to it appear appropriate;
- (4) To contract with such other agencies, public or private, as it deems necessary for the rendition and affording of such services, facilities, studies and reports to the committee as will best assist it to carry out the purposes for which it is created;
- (5) To hold public hearings at any place in California at which hearings the people are to have an opportunity to present their views to the committee;
- (6) To make a complete study, survey and investigation of every phase of the subject of this resolution, including but not limited to the operation, effect, administration, enforcement, and needed revision of any and all laws in anywise bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution;
- (7) To meet either during sessions of this Legislature or during any recess thereof at any and all places in this State, in public or executive session;
- (8) To act only during this session of the Legislature, including any recess hereof;
- (9) To file a report with the Legislature during the session of the Fifty-fifth Legislature;
- (10) To summon and subpoena witnesses, require the production of papers, books, accounts, reports, documents, and records of every kind and description, to issue subpoenas and to take all necessary means to compel the attendance of witnesses and procure testimony; and
- (11) To cooperate with and secure the cooperation of county, city, city and county and other local law enforcement agencies in investigating any matter within the scope of this resolution, and to direct the

sheriff of any county to serve subpenas, orders, and other process issued by the committee; and

(12) To do any and all other things necessary or convenient to enable it fully and adequately to exercise its powers, perform its duties, and accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution;

*Resolved*, That the committee, each of its members, and any representative of the committee thereunto authorized by the committee or by its chairman, is authorized and empowered to administer oaths; and be it further

*Resolved*, That every department, commission, board, agency, officer and employee of the State Government, including the Legislative Counsel, the Attorney General and their subordinates, and of any political subdivision, county, city, or public district of or in this State shall furnish the committee and any subcommittee, upon request, any and all such assistance, and information, records and documents as the committee or subcommittee deems proper for the accomplishment of the purposes for which the committee is created; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the California Highway Patrol and all officers and members thereof shall furnish such assistance to the committee as the chairman may direct; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the members of the committee shall serve without compensation but shall be allowed mileage at the rate of five and one-half cents (\$0.05½) per mile each way incurred in connection with their services upon the committee and other actual and necessary expenses for living accommodations and meals, incurred in connection with their services upon the committee, or in lieu of such expenses for accommodations and meals an allowance of ten dollars (\$10) per day (no expenses or mileage shall be payable during the session of the Legislature except that this shall not prevent the payment of expenses or mileage during the constitutional recess); and be it further

*Resolved*, That the sum of ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) or so much thereof as may be necessary is hereby made available from the contingent funds of the Senate and of the Assembly for the expenses of the committee and its members and for any charges, expenses or claims it may incur under this resolution, to be paid equally from the contingent funds of the Senate and of the Assembly and disbursed, after certification by the chairman of the committee, upon warrants drawn by the State Controller upon the State Treasurer.

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